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VOLUME 2



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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

F
OF THE

EGYPTIANS, MEDES & PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS, MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS, AND
BABYLONIANS, GRECIANS.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE FOURTEENTH EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A NEW AND COMPLETE SET OF MAPS OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, NEAT ENGRAVINGS OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES, &c. ADAPTED TO THE WORK.

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of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them to send nothing but bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided, he said, with all they wanted, either for their ragoos, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragoo, and water from the river their only drink; for that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the division of the spoils. Cyrus, in the first place, ordered the magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was properst to be offered to the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained among the whole army. They earnestly desired that the Persians might preside in the distribution, but the Persians absolutely refused it; so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

^m The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy, Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning, when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he dispatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who, in return, wrote him a respectful letter; in which, however, he expressed himself with a generous and noble freedom, justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia, for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.

ⁿ Amongst the prisoners of war they had taken, there was a young princess, of most exquisite beauty, whom they reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abriades, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear, as he said, such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution

^m Cyrop. I. iv. p. 104.—108. ⁿ Idem, I. v. p. 114. 117. et I. vi. p. 153. 155.

of the great designs he had in view. • This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received : for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that tended or related to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition : “ I have seen a great many persons,” says he, “ who have thought themselves very strong, wretchedly overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution ; who have owned afterwards, with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery, from which they had not the power to redeem themselves ; an incurable temper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts ; a kind of * bond or necessity, more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron.” “ Fear nothing,” replied Araspes, “ I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life, I shall do nothing contrary to my duty.” Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence with her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears ; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, had not a word to say for himself. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him ; acknowledging, that he himself was to blame for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kind-

o Cyrop. l. i. p. 34.

* Δεδημένος ιτχυοτίημ τινὶ ἀσύρκη, ἢ εἰ σιδήρα εἰδένετο.

ness, the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. “ Alas !” says he, “ now I am “ come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly, “ that I have two souls ; one that inclines me to good, ano- “ ther that excites me to evil. The former prevails, when “ you speak to me, and come to my relief : when I am alone, “ and left to myself, I give way to and am overpowered by “ the latter.” Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

P The loss of so brave an officer, whom discontent was supposed to have engaged in the enemy’s party, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit ; whereby she meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians, and was directly carried to Panthea’s tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handsomely she had been treated by the generous conqueror. “ And “ how,” cried out Abradates, “ shall I be able to acknow- “ ledge so important a service ?” “ By behaviour towards “ him,” replied Panthea, “ as he hath done towards me.” Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his respects to so great a benefactor, “ You see before “ you,” says he to him, “ the tenderest friend, the most de- “ voted servant, and the faithfulest ally, you ever had ; who, “ not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, “ comes and devotes himself entirely to your service.” Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, and withal with so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that great prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

q Two Assyrian nobleman, likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas’s son, and for that reason had sent for him to court.

p Cyrop. l. vi. p. 155. 156.

q Idem, l. iv. p. 111. 113.

This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to whieh he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, whieh the king's son had missed. The latter, who was of a passionate and savage temper, immediately struck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his proteetion ; and the rather because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. ^r This young king was ealled Laborosoarchod ; he reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonid, ealled also Labynit and Balthasar, who reigned seventeen years.

^s The other Assyrian nobleman was ealled Gadates ; he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne, beeause one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.

^t The expeetation of this double sueeour was a strong in-dueement to Cyrus, and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief objeet of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attaek that eity immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself aequainted with it ; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out, therefore, with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus to his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden eups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country : then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death

^r A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

^s Cyrop. I. v. p. 123. 124.

^t Cyrop. I. v. p. 119. 123.

seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgement, which he took the liberty to offer him. “ I willingly accept your gold and silver,” says Cyrus, “ and I make a present of it to your daughter, “ to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the “ nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. “ It will neither be their own riches nor yours, which they “ will set their esteem upon. I can assure you, there are “ many amongst them, who would make no account of all “ the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with “ merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it “ of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to “ their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful “ to the gods.” Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he stedfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was all the beds and couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit: and above all things he admired the ingenuous vein of humour, and the innocent chearfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this, there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the * Sacæ and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, offered himself to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly, he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army

^a Cyrop. l. v. p. 124.—140.

* Not the Sacæ of Scythia.

of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse ; and the Sacæ furnished ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gaddates for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit, the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then, advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a personal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat ; but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of a truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

* When he came to the frontiers, he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country, and an army that was still going to receive an augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus ; who likewise advanced forward to meet him with his cavalry, which were very fine and numerous. The sight of those troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a conversation with his uncle, for explaining himself with the more freedom. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason ; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his

favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses, and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

y Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Croesus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the years wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose, with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Croesus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides, for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

z Cyrus, then, about this time, had thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after his departure, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage* to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful

y Cyrop. I. i. p. 148.—151.

z Idem, I. viii. p. 228. 229.

* Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable that either of them should wait till that age, before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Besides, at any rate, Cambyses would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of Archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the

sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgements of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept of it, till he had the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence, which all children ought to shew to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage-solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies, for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

^a Foreseeing, says Xenophon, that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it extremely. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise as if the enemy had been always in sight.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey, only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

^b In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these

^a Cyrop. I. vi. p. 151.

^b Idem, p. 156. 157.

Cyropædia, I. viii. p. 228. that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirty years old.

obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not find, in this last circumstance, the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of ambassadors; which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery.

^c Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart or shoot an arrow the most dextrously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a-hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and shewed them all possible favour, for their encouragement. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited an universal ardour throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who, in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his meals, conversations, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

^d In the mean time, the Indian ambassadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Croesus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great

^c Cyrop. I. vi. p. 157.

^d Idem, p. 178.

succour was marching, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men ; that another army was expected from Cyprus ; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phoenicians, were already arrived ; that the Assyrians were likewise come up with the king of Babylon ; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them ; that Crœsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance ; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbria, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and the spies.

^e Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news. But that prince, having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears, and revived their courage.

^f Cyrus had taken all proper measures that his army should be provided with all necessaries, and had given orders, as well for their march as for the battle he was preparing to give ; in doing which, he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers ; for he knew very well, that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances ; in the same manner as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel, though never so small.

^g This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names ; and making use of a low, but significant comparison, he used to say, “ He thought it strange that an artificer should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use in all his enterprises and operations.” Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe they are both known and esteemed by their general.

^h When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took

^e Cyrop. l. vi. p. 159.
132.

^f Idem, p. 158.—163.

^h Idem, l. vi. p. 160. 161.

^g Idem, l. v. p. 131.

leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who understood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forward to meet them in their territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition, and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march, he came up with the enemy at Thymbria, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

SECTION V.

THE BATTLE OF THYMBRIA, BETWEEN CYRUS AND CRÆSUS.

THIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians *. It was this consideration that induced M. Freret, one of my brethren in the Academy of Polite Literature, to examine it with a particular care and exactness; and the rather, as he observes, because it is the first pitched battle of which we have any full or particular account. I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action: moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war, and fought battles, is an essential part of their history.

ⁱ In Cyrus's army, the companies of foot consisted of an

ⁱ Cyrop. l. iv. p. 167.

* Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

hundred men each, exclusive of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four parts or platoons, which consisted of four-and-twenty men each, not including the person who commanded the escouade. Each of these subdivisions was again divided into two files, consisting, in consequence, of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of these bodies again had another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

^k I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the thirty thousand Persians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them, till then, only made use of javelins, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes, and left few of his soldiers in light armour.

^l The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by little and little formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon; that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers, which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted, in the whole, to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand natural-born Persians, *viz.* ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pikemen, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six

^k Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39. 40.

^l Idem, l. iv. p. 99. 100. et l. v. p. 138.

thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and one hundred thousand foot of the same nations.

^m Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses a-breast, covered with trappings that were shot-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

ⁿ He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size, on each of which was placed a tower of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked in a breast.

^o There was, moreover, a considerable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

^p Croesus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, of which sixty thousand were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of one hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cicilians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

^q Croesus's army, in order of battle, was all ranged in one line, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were one hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of Croesus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, which had one hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or space between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Croesus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an im-

^m Cyrop. I. vi. p. 152. 153. 157. ⁿ Idem, p. 156. ^o Idem, p. 153. 158.
^p Idem, p. 150. ^q Idem, p. 166.

mense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left; and the design of Croesus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadia, or five miles in length.

Araspes, who, under the pretence of discontent, had retired to Croesus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

^r The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth. But Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being inclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partizans, battle-axes, and swords; and, provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe the Lydian phalanx, that were only armed with light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus, therefore, thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysantes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently, was at each end near four stadia, or half a mile, short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spear-men, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by the soldiers in their front, over whose heads they could fling their javelins, and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was, to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as

^r Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

traitors that run away; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

^s To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy's, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of one hundred each. One of the bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of * Susiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

^t The next day, very early in the morning, Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was sight more beautiful and magnificent; coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets,—one could not tell which to admire most; men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

^u When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass,

^s Cyrop. I. vi. p. 168.

^t Idem, p. 169.

^u Idem, p. 169. 170.

* Or Sushan.

which was only of quilted flax, according to the fashion of his country, his wife Panthea came and presented him with an helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be the more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she shed some tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations," says she, "to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was set apart for his pleasure; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife, and in return I assured him, you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness." "O Jupiter!" cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, "grant that on this occasion I may approve myself an husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor." Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiss the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.

* As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage which is due to the gods, every man went to his post. ^y Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals; he eat a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise, and poured out a part of it as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this, he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried

^x Cyrop. I. vi. p. 170.

^y Idem, I. vii. p. 172.

out, " Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee *." And that instant he set forward, having Chrysanthes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them, above all things, to take care of the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle on the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his army halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemy had observed how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to inclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, " Jupiter, leader and protector," he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

^z He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers; and he who, on all other occasions, was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory: " Follow me, comrades," said he; " the victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the motion which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: " These troops alarm you," says he; " believe me, these are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." In the event, the thing just happened as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

^a When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Croesus gave the signal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Persian

^z Cyrop. I. vii. p. 173.—176. ^a Idem, p. 176.

* He had really a god for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was inclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank; and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them in great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment the troops on the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as they were sensible of the approach of those animals, for horses cannot endure the smell of camels, began to snort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion, a small body of horse, commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying: and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful slaughter.

^b This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order, that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all

^b Cyrop. I. vii. p. 177.

the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariots having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forward in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the rolling towers ; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

Cyrus, in the mean time, having put both the horse and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuse himself in pursuing the run-aways, but, pushing on directly to the centre, had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way ; and, rightly judging that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear ; the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger ; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, run headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions if they would surrender, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no less eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they stipulated, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Croesus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

c Cyrop. I. vii. p. 178.

^d Xenophon observes, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cumæ, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's, as also many others in several parts of his Cyropædia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shews plainly, that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

^e The battle lasted till evening. Crœsus retreated as fast as he could with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle, I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some persons of the sword, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus disposed of his troops in order of battle, as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Crœsus had detached to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is possible such a circumstance might escape Xenophon in describing this battle.

^f It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been entirely ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever afterwards retained among the Persians. The camels, too, were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes, that in his time they made no other use of them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and fore-

^d Cyrop. l. vii. p. 179.

^e Idem, p. 180.

^f Idem,

sight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour: in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders, as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed? We shall see by and bye, what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military person himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession, to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if, on a day of battle, he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a Pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than a respect for the false deities of Paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Croesus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes in regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

g But let us return to the camp of the Persians. It is easy to imagine, that Panthea must be in the utmost affliction and distress, when the news was brought to her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her

g Cyrop. I. vii. p. 184.—186.

eyes stedfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief, and indulging her misery, with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shewn to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

SECTION VI.

THE TAKING OF SARDIS AND OF CRœSUS.

THE ^h next day, in the morning, Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Crœsus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; ⁱ which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had

^h Herod. l. i. c. 79.—81.

ⁱ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Croesus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

* When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city, he had a particular conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard. Croesus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shewn a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him, for that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead an happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness, when he once came to the knowledge of himself. "For want of this knowledge," continued he, "and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince, infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me, for my fate is in your hands, I shall certainly be so." Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him; as Croesus acknowledged

himself, from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead an happy life, exempted from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

¹ I have already observed, that the only son Crœsus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scimitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the strings of his tongue, and cried out, " Soldier, spare the life of Crœsus."

^m Crœsus, being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly, the funeral-pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the * conversation he had formerly had with Solon, was woefully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried out aloud three times, " Solon, " Solon, Solon !" Cyrus, who, with the chief officers of his court, was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Crœsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. [†] Thus had Solon the glory, with one single word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Crœsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he, Crœsus, was to believe himself in danger, when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them; the other, that when he should pass the-

¹ Herod. l. i. c. 85. m Idem, c. 86.—91. Plut. in Solon.

* This conversation is already related, Vol. I. p. 347, 348.

[†] Καὶ διέξαντος ὁ Σόλων εἰς λόχων τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδευταῖς τῶν βασιλίων.—Plut.

river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear: and from the second, he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he dispatched messengers to Delphos, in order to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding all the vast presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crœsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that, let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

ⁿ When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians, they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects, upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who, before his victory, had solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who, having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them, but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and advertised them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from

³⁴ n Herod. l. i. c. 141, 152, 153,

Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, nor had the Persians any shipping.

ARTICLE II.

THE HISTORY OF THE BESIEGING AND TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS.

CYRUS^c staid in Asia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection, from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the east that stood out against him.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But, despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

SECTION I.

PREDICTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, AS THEY ARE SET DOWN IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIP- TURES.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy scriptures

^c Herod. l. i. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186.—188.

many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. THE PREDICTION OF THE JEWISH CAPTIVITY AT BABYLON, AND THE TIME OF ITS DURATION.

God Almighty was pleased, not only to cause the captivity which his people were to suffer at Babylon to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years," Jer. xxv. 11.

II. THE CAUSES OF GOD'S WRATH AGAINST BABYLON.

THAT which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. Her pride. * She believed herself to be invincible. She says in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. Her cruelty. It is God himself that complains of it. † I was willing, says he, to punish my people in such a manner as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recal them.

* Dixisti, in sempiternum ero domina—Dicis in corde tuo, Ego sum, et non est praeter me amplius: non sedebo vidua, et ignorabò sterilitatem.—Isa. xlvi. 7, 8.

† Iratus sum super populum meum, et dedi eos in manu tua, Babylon. Non posuisti eis misericordiam: super senem aggravasti jugum tuum valde.—Veniet super te malum.—Isa. xlvi. 6, 7.

as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have converted my paternal chastisement into such a cruel and inhuman treatment, as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy: mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shewn no compassion or regard either to age, or infirmity, or virtue.

3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king. To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors, Baltazar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himself likewise to have vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply these holy vessels to profane uses. This was the provoking circumstance that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

III. THE DECREE PRONOUNCED AGAINST BABYLON, PREDICTION OF THE CALAMITIES THAT WERE TO FALL UPON HER, AND OF HER UTTER DESTRUCTION.

p "MAKE bright the arrows, gather the shields;" it is the prophet that speaks to the Medes and Persians. "The Lord " hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his " device is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the " vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple."

q "Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day " cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land " desolate.— Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon " and his land, as I have punished the king of * Assyria."

s "Shout against her round about. Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, " do unto her; and spare ye not her young men; destroy " ye utterly all her host.— Every one that is found shall be " thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them " shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed " to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, " and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes " against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, " they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the

p Jer. li. 11.
and li. 3.

q Isa. xiii. 6. 9.
t Isa. xiii. 15. 18.

r Jer. l. 18.

s Jer. l. 15.19.

* In the destruction of Nineveh.

“ young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the “ fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children.—^u O “ daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall “ he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy “ shall he be, that taketh thy children, and dasheth them “ against the stones.”

* “ And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty “ of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God over- “ threw Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabit- “ ed, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to genera- “ tion; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither “ shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts “ of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full “ of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs “ shall dance there: and the wild beasts of the island shall “ cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant “ palaces.—^y I will also make it a possession for the bitter “ and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of “ destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts “ hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it “ come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.”

IV. CYRUS CALLED TO DESTROY BABYLON, AND TO DELIVER THE JEWS.

CYRUS, whom the divine providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing of his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the prodigious rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare, in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. ^z “ Thus saith the Lord to his “ anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to “ subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of “ kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the “ gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make “ the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the “ gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And “ I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden “ riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the

^u Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9.
^z Idem, xlvi. 1.—4.

x Isa. xiii. 19, 22.

y Idem, xiv. 23, 24.

"Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel : "for Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have "even called thee by thy name : I have surnamed thee, "though thou hast not known me."

V. GOD GIVES THE SIGNAL TO THE COMMANDERS, AND TO
THE TROOPS, TO MARCH AGAINST BABYLON.

a "LIFT ye up a banner," saith the Lord, "upon the high inmountain," that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. "Exalt the voice unto them" that are able to hear you. "Shake the hand," and make a sign to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops "go into the gates of the nobles," into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go into his tent, which is already set up.

b "I have commanded my sanctified ones;" I have given my orders to those whom I sanctified for the execution of my designs : and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made several nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministration. "I have called my mighty ones^c for mine anger." I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me : every thing gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, "they rejoice in my highness." The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness : behold, they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness, with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he

a Isa. xiii. 2.
iram meam.

b Idem, xiii. 3.

c Lat. vers. *in ira mea.* Heb. *in*

cries out, d “ The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people ; a tumultuous noise of the kings of nations gathered together. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle : e They come from a far country, from the end of heaven,” where the voice of God, their Master and Sovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the sight of the formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck ; it is God himself that I behold ; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. “ It is even the Lord, and the wea-
“ pons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.”

f “ A grievous vision is declared unto me : ” The * impious Baltazar, king of Babylon; continues to act impiously ; “ the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth.” To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia : “ Go up, O Elam : ” and thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon : “ Besiege, O Media ; “ all the sighing which she was the cause of, have I made “ to cease : ” The wicked city is taken and pillaged ; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES SET DOWN, RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

THERE is nothing, methinks, that can be more proper to raise a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that she did not at all expect : g “ There-
“ fore shall evil come upon thee ; thou shalt not know from
“ whence it riseth.” She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she did not foresee : h “ Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which
“ thou shalt not know.” In a word, she shall be taken, as it were, in a net or a gin, before she perceiveth that any snares

^a Isa. xiii. 4 ^e Idem, ver. 5. ^f Idem, xxi. 2. ^g Idem, xlvi. 11. ^h Idem.

This is the sense of the Hebrew word.

have been laid for her : i “ I have laid a snare for thee, and “ thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.”

3. Babylon reckoned that the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated, and defended by so deep a river : k “ O thou that dwellest upon many waters.” It is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem, of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since, shall divert the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city : l “ I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. A “ drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up.” Cyrus shall take possession of the keys of the river ; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire ; m “ The passages “ are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.”

4. She shall be taken in the night time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking : n “ In her heat I will make their feasts, and I will make “ them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord.” It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon ; o “ I have laid a snare for thee ;” who drieth up the waters of the river ; “ I will dry up her sea ;” and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes ; “ p I will make drunk her princes.”

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind : “ q My loins are “ filled with pain ; pangs have taken hold on me, as the “ pangs of a woman that travaileth : I was bowed down at “ the hearing of it ; I was dismayed at the seeing of it : my “ heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me : the night of my “ pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me.” This is the condition Baltazar was in, when, in the middle of the entertainment, he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read ; but more especially when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the sentence of his death : “ r Then,” says the scripture, “ the

i Jer. 1. 24. k Idem, li. 13. l Idem, l. 38. et li. 36. m Idem, li. 32.
n Idem, li. 39. o Ut supra. p Jer. li. 57. q Isa. xxi. 3, 4. r Dan. v. 6.

" king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another." The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Baltazar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediataetly after the description of Baltazar's consternation, the following words : " s Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower ; eat, drink." The prophet foresees, that Baltazar, though terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirit again, through the exhortation of his courtiers ; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms : " t Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed." They exhorted him, therefore, to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the centinels ; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened ; and to recall that gaiety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table : " Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower ; eat, drink."

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his : " u Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield." It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, and buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever ; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape ; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered when they are affrighted : " x And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up." The second circum-

s Isa. xxi. 5.

t Dan. v. 10.

u Isa. xxi. 5.

x Idem, xiii. 14.

stance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonians service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: “^y They shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land.”

8. Lastly, Not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shewn either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the last circumstance, I say, the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in the scripture, after a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. “^z But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people.” That king is justly forgot, who has never remembered that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and since he had no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence which God himself pronounceth against Baltazar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleasing prospect and ideas of their future grandeur. “^a Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise, nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord.”

^y Isa. xiii. 14.

^z Idem, xiv. 19. 20.

^a Idem, xiv. 21. 22.

SECTION II.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

AFTER having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the completion and accomplishment of those prophecies ; and in order thereto, we must resume the thread of our history, with respect to the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed, that in the city, on such a day, a great festival was to be celebrated ; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

^b Baltazar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out ; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels : God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, in the very action, made him sensible who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon a wall. The king, terribly surprised and affrighted at this vision, immediately sent for all the wise men, his diviners, and astrologers of it, that they might read the writing to him, and e^sword in hand^{ing} of it. But they all came in vain, not oⁿccour him, able to expound the matter, or even to reac^m to the characters. It is probably in relation to this occu^we, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that she should be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, " Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-

b Dan. v. 1.—29.

* The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

"gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee," Isa. xlvii. 12. 13. The queen-mother, Nitocris, a princess of great merit, coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the * crying abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. "And thou his son," says he to the king, "hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee; and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drank wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, † MENE, TEKEL, c UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." This interpretation, one would think, should have enhanced the king's trouble; but some way or other they found means to dispel his fears, and make him easy; probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to

c Or PERES.

* "Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down," Dan. v. 19.

† These three words signify number, weight, division.

another time, and sat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

^d Cyrus, in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out, and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the conduct of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides of the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obstacle. The invisible Guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night serve to the leaving open of the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they so perfectly agree with what the scriptures have recorded of the impious Baltazar.

^e The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from

^d Cyrop. l. vii. p. 189.—192.

^e A. M. 2466. Ant. J. C. 558.

the beginning of Nebuchodonosor's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished these predictions which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points, the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is, the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or footsteps should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

SECTION V.

THE COMPLETION OF THE PROPHECY WHICH FORETOLD THE TOTAL RUIN AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON.

THIS prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the 13th chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verse, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the 16th chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 32. &c. It is there declared, that Babylon should be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that neither herdsman nor shepherd shall come thither even to rest his herd or his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, or fen, so that no mark or footprint shall be left to shew where Babylon had been. It was God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion, to shew how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

1. In the *first* place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Shusan, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place, and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

2. ^f We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embellishments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built * Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold, “ It shall not be inhabited.” Its own masters endeavour to depopulate it.

3. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building † Ctesiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that, from the time the anathema was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her were become her enemies: as if they had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, by indirect means, though without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

4. ^g She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was she reduced at the time when [‡] Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece. *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habit reliqui.* Paus. in Arcad. p. 509.

5. The kings of Persia, finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timidous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. ^h “ Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and “ dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces.”

ⁱ St Jerom has transmitted to us the following valuable

^f A. M. 3880. ^g A. C. 96. ^h Isa. xiii. 21. 22. ⁱ A. C. 400.

* Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit, et Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadiis tantum trecentis a Babylone dissitam.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 38.

In solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleucia, ob id conditæ a Nicatore intra nonagesimum (*or* quadragesimum) lapidem.—Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

† Pro illa Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt.—S. Hieron. in cap. xiii. Isa.

‡ He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian.

remark, which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he related to him: *Didicimus à quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exegit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.*—In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.

6. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which served for pleasure to the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way; so that, in * Theodoret's time, there was but a very little stream of water left, which run across the ruins, and, not meeting with a descent or free passage, necessarily degenerated into a marsh.

ⁱ In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these outlets, being ill stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who declared he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon, “^k I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant,” defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold, “^l I will make it pools of water.” And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

7. By means of all these changes, Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state

ⁱ Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. viii. ^k Isa. xvi. 22. ^l Idem, 28.

* Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam medium dividebat; nunc autem fluvius conversus est in aliam viam, et per ruderā minimus aquarum meatus fluit.—Theod. in cap. l. Jerem. 38. et 39.

of desolation and horror; so that the most able * geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled; “^mI will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.” I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every footstep of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. “I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.”

8. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. “ⁿThe Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.” But if we should take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. “The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.”

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.

SECTION IV.

WHAT FOLLOWED UPON THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

CYRUS^o entered the city after the manner we have described; put all to the sword that were found in the streets; then

^m Isa. xiv. 23.

ⁿ Idem, 24.

^o Cyrop. I. vii. p. 192.

* Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera.—Baudian.

commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison, which kept the citadel, being apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. ^p After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired, was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and as a means thereto, take a particular care to give their children education. This, says he, will necessarily engage us daily to make further advancements in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples; nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

^p Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers, and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support

each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not stand idle in the midst of all this motion, but was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which, by this means, he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.

^r When he afterwards sent governors, called *satrapæ*, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops, kept on foot for the security of the country, to depend upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; that if any of the *satrapæ*, elated with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting any one man with an absolute power, as knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, that all others are thereby abased and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. ^s In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful. ^t He was sensible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners; but, in his opinion, the prince, by his example, was to be a living law to his people: ^u nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: ^x He was also persuaded, that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to say any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

^r Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229.

^u Idem, p. 205.

^s Idem, p. 209.

^x Idem, p. 204.

^t Idem, p. 204.

^y Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. ^z “ I have ‘‘ prodigious riches,’ says he to his courtiers, ‘‘ I own, and ‘‘ I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure your- ‘‘ selves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end ‘‘ should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to con- ‘‘ sume it myself? That would be impossible, if I desired it: ‘‘ No; the chief end I aim at, is to have it in my power to ‘‘ reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to suc- ‘‘ cour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their ‘‘ wants and necessities.’”

^a Crœsus one day represented to him, that by continual giving, he would at last make himself poor; whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. “ And to what sum,” replied Cyrus, “ do you think those treasures might have amounted?” Crœsus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a little note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them, that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Crœsus had mentioned. “ Look here,” says Cyrus to him, “ here are ‘‘ my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the ‘‘ hearts and affections of my subjects.”

But as much as he esteemed liberality, he still laid a greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

^b But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this, therefore, he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of magi, to sing daily a morning-service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

^y Cyrop. l. viii. p. 209.
^b Idem, p. 204.

^z Idem, p. 225.

^a Idem, p. 210.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed, that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible that it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments of religion, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

^c Cyrus being resolved to settle his chief residence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined, therefore, to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but those persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all sorts of reasons to an entire attachment to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they were of any consideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his household with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from thenceforth it became the general custom of all the eastern countries.

It is well known, that in after-times this usage prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to entrust them also with the management of affairs, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These

expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy having got possession of their masters minds and confidence, they came to be in great credit at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities of the state.

^d But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus, had the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons, whose whole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to keep all persons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as possible from his knowledge, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him : *Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

^e When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he resolved to shew himself publicly to his people, and to his new-conquered subjects, in a solemn august ceremony of religion, by marching a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring a respect to himself, not only by the attractions of virtue, says the historian, but by such an external pomp as was proper to attract the multitude, and work like a * charm or enchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a suit of clothes after the Median fashion, that is to say, long garments, which hung down to the feet. These clothes were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes, ^f and began to imitate them in colouring their

^d Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever. ^e Cyrop. l. viii. p. 213. 220. ^f Idem, p. 206.

* Ἀλλὰ καὶ παταγούτειν ἄστο χρεῖναι αὐτοῖς.

eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it, ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace-gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses, that were to be sacrificed to the sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloke. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat the master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus; for which reason the stature of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him: whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march: the other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with

javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed two hundred led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four in a breast, marched in the rear, and closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of * Syria.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about the quantity of five † stadia, and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately, and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete an horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards amongst the Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

g Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well strangers as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms, he did not think it descending from his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

g Cyrop. I. viii. p. 220.—224.

* Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Assyria.

† A little above half a mile.

ARTICLE III.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS, FROM THE TAKING OF BABYLON TO
THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

CYRUS, finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a continual application to the duties of his high station.

SECTION I.

CYRUS TAKES A JOURNEY INTO PERSIA. AT HIS RETURN FROM THENCE TO BABYLON, HE FORMS A PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE. DANIEL'S CREDIT AND POWER.

WHEN^h Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him, at the same time, that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in copartnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank.ⁱ This is the Cyaxares, who is called in scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire.^k They divided

^h Cyrop. l. viii. p. 227. ⁱ A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538. ^k Dan. vi. 1.

it into an hundred and twenty provinces. ¹ And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the expresses, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible dispatch. ^m The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and rendered him the greatest service in the war. ⁿ Over these governors were appointed three superintendants, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account, from time to time, of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the great affairs of the whole empire. Of these three Daniel was made chief. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had appeared in a distinguished manner at Baltazar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age, and consummate experience. For at that time it was fully sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodonosor, since he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

^o As this distinction had made him the second person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

^p Towards the end of the same year, which was reckoned

¹ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232. ^m Idem, p. 230. ⁿ Dan. vi. 2, 3. ^o Idem, vi. 4.—27. ^p Idem, ix. 1.—27.

the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he prayed earnestly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the Angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable; namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to pass from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years; for, taking each day for a year, according to the language sometimes used in holy scripture, those seventy weeks of years make up exactly four hundred and ninety years.

^q Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand horse, of two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with as many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries, as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which, for their fineness and beauty, were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole East.

^q Cyrop. I viii. p. 233.

SECTION II.

THE BEGINNING OF THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS
AND MEDES. THE FAMOUS EDICT OF CYRUS. DANIEL'S
PROPHECIES.

HERE, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomanus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the three first kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

^r CYRUS. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the new empire.

^s The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely, expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, ^t whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him his request, he shewed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be a conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and, at the same time, to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabi-

^r A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536.

^t Isa. xliv. and xlvi.

^s Cic. l. i. de Div. n. 46.

tants. I think it may not be improper, in this place, to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and success.

" In the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians, that " the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had " promised by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raised up the " spirit of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and he made pro- " clamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, " saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of the Persians, the Lord " of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the " whole world, and commanded me to build him a house at " Jerusalem in Jewry. If, therefore, there be any of you " that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with " him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and " build the house of the Lord of Israel; for he is the Lord " that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever, then, dwell in the " places about, let him help him, those, I say, that are his " neighbours, with gold and with silver; with gifts, with " horses, and with cattle, and other things, which have been " set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem."

Cyrus restored at the same time to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zerobabel, to return into their own country.

^x The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and under-hand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, to obstruct the execution of it, so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

^y It seems to have been out of grief to see the execution of this decree so long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succes-

^u 1 Esdras ii. 1.—7.
534. Dan. x. 1.—3.

^x Idem, iv. 1.—5.

^y A. M. 3470. Ant J. C.

sion of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

* By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after; and, indeed, his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for, at this time, he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of something more than human wisdom, in the judgement of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much considered by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and politieal, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. ^z Josephus speaks of a famous edifice built by him at [†] Susa, in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried: and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that [‡] city, and there they shew his monument even to this day. It is certain, that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us, that "he did the king's business there ^a;" that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

REFLECTIONS ON DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

I HAVE hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. ^b I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punish-

^z Antiq. I. x. cap. 12.

^a Dan. viii. 27.

^b Dan. iv.

^{*} "But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days," Dan. xii. 13.

[†] So it ought to be read, according to St Jerom, who relates the same fact; Com. in Dan. viii. 2. and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

[‡] Now called Tustes.

ment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years, restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known, the thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction ; the king himself relates it in a declaration, addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine ; to speak of it, as a thing sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it ; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of so important a matter, and so injurious to the king, and of which the falsehood must have been notorious to all the world ?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which signify the succession of four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject-matter of this work, which is only the history of those very empires.

The first of these prophecies was occasioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had of an image composed of different metals,—gold, silver, brass, and iron ; which image was broken in pieces, and beat as small as dust, by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already spoken of at large ^d.

About * fifty years after, the same Daniel saw another vision, very like that which I have just been speaking of : this was the vision of the four large beasts, which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings : the second was like a bear ; the third was like a leopard, w^tich had four heads ; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth ; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. From the midst of the ten horns which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the others : the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels,

c Dan. ii. 43. 44.

d Vol. I. p. 324. 325.

* This was the first year of Baltazar, king of Babylon. Dan. vii.

pronounced an irreversible judgement upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations and all the tribes,—an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that these two visions, the one of the image composed of different metals, the other of the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and of the* Romans. This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who, by a supernatural revelation, imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases †?

^e In the following chapter, this prophet still speaks with greater clearness and precision. For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: The ram which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see, that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that "he " touched not the ground?" How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise

* Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, put the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

† "He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings; " he revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him." Dan. ii. 21. 22.

the most powerful? * By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover, that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered, and divided into four principal kingdoms, and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north?

The particulars of the fact foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign †, foretell, that the fourth of Cyrus's successors should gather together all his forces, to attack the Grecian states? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein, and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? ‡ How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire, foretell the wars which Alexander's successors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerities in their treaties and their marriage-alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?

I leave to the intelligent and curious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; for they are so clear and express, that Porphyry §, a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, but by pretending that they were written after the events, and rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark, what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world, and

f Dan. xi. 5.—45.

g S. Hieron. in Proem. ad Com. in Dan.

* "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled," Dan. xi. 3. 4. "Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."—Dan. viii. 22.

† "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings of Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."—Dan. xi. 2.

the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former, every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors ! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as their founders or governors !

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find, that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been two of its true characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The end of his reign is the salvation of mankind ; it is to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who are all of them so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only, that the whole world doth subsist : and when the number of them shall be complete, ^h“ then,” says St Paul, “ cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom of God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.”

Can a writer, who sees, in the prophecies of Daniel, that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted the time determined for them by the Sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ !—can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine One, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others ?

SECTION III.

THE LAST YEARS OF CYRUS. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine Seas, on the west by the Ægean Sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the Sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months in the year at Babylon in the winter-season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring-time, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, which was the seventh time from his accession to the whole monarchy; and this shews, that he used to go regularly into Persia once a-year. Cambyses had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had passed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he * enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of his sober and temperate life. And as they who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery often feel all the infirmities of age even whilst they are young, Cyrus, on the contrary, in a very advanced age, enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments.

i Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233. &c.

* Cyrus, quidem, apud Xenophonem eo sermone, quem muriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam senisse senectutem suam imbecillorem factam, quam adolescentia fuisse. — Cic. de Senect. n. 30.

He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne, was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches, but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you, therefore," said he, "my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you would retain any desire to please me for the future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant; you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons; I could never imagine that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon this great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. For my body, my sons, when life has forsook it, inclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatsoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated, with the benefactress and common mother of human kind?" After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: "Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace." After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

^k The order given by Cyrus to restore his body to the earth, is, in my opinion, very remarkable. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if inclosed in gold or silver

RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says he. Where did that prince learn, that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

CHARACTER AND PRAISE OF CYRUS.

CYRUS may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince, to be found in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean things they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an

obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reason, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. * Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others; for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing affects us more, than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. ¹ His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command, to tell him whatever they thought. And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own; so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus^m, who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: *Consilii, quamvis egregri, quod ipse non afferet, inimicus.*

ⁿ Cicero observes, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.* What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of

¹ Plut. L. iii. de Leg. p. 694.

^m Hist. l. i. c. 26.

ⁿ Lib. i. Epist. 21. ad Q. Fratrem.

* Habet amicos, quia amicus ipse es.—Paneg. Trojan.

sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But, what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his stedfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; ^o and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and secure the public welfare and tranquillity. He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd *, the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good kings, and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. "It is his duty," says he, "to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to charge himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them: to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," says he, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

Indeed, to be the commonwealth's guardian, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is not to be for themselves; the very character of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as light, which is placed on high,

^o Cyrop. l. i. p. 27.

* "Thou shalt feed my people," said God to David, 2. Sam. v. 2. Ποιεῖς γαῖαν, says Homer in many places.

only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these any disparagement to the dignity of the regal state ?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus founded such an extensive empire in so short a time ; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for several years ; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered ; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not, for our parts, to be surprised that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue, (it will be easily understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues), because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, or that he immediately made him such as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all, he took care that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by this means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding him, in some sort, with the rest of his subjects, and the keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride which is so natural to princes ; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command ; inured him to hardship and toil ; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety ; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate ; an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that Heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this truth ; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation,—that all good kings are the gift of God, and that such a gift includes

many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance with that of Cyrus. *q Nullum est præstabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam castus, et sanctus, et Deo simillimus princeps.*

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, methinks there seems to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly; I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden turn of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: *p Fortunam adhuc tantum adversum tulisti: secundæ res aceribus stimulis explorant animos.* And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up the burden; whereas prosperity, attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miseric tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; as a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients, improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against every thing; and lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to support itself, but is capable of supporting others.

r Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfor-

p Paneg. Traj.

q Hist. l. i. c. 15.

r Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234.

tunate accident : and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us, at the same time, with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired ; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen : and this prudent fear was not only a ^s preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examined, with regard to this prince's reputation and character ; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind *, who acknowledged no right but that of force ; who looked upon the common rules of justice, as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings ; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them any farther ; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition ; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like fires and torrents ; and † who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes the world admires ; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many, deceived by false images of greatness.

I do not know whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus, but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings ; but he certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, which whoever undertakes without a just foundation, renders

* Οὐκ εἴς μέρα φρονεῖν, ἐδ' εὐφεγίνεσθαι ἐμπιπταμένως.

* Id in summa fortuna aequius quod validius. Et sua retinere privatæ domus : de alienis certare regiam laudem esse.—Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 1.

† Quæ alia vita esset, si leones urisque regnarent ?—Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 26.

himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now, every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

^t Cyrus, as we have seen, at the beginning of the war, founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies; unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Croesus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the Lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all Upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.

With good reason, therefore, is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unless justice had been the basis and foundation of it: *Cyrus a Xenophonte scriptus ad justi effigiem imperii* *.

SECTION IV.

WHEREIN HERODOTUS AND XENOPHON DIFFER IN THEIR ACCOUNTS OF CYRUS.

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the substance and most essential part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

^u He tells us, as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the

^t Cyrop. l. i. p. 25. ^u Her. l. i. c. 107.—130. Justin, l. i. c. 4. 6.

* Cic. l. i. Epist. l. Q. ad Fratrem.

son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandana to a Persian of an obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyses : this daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the same by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and entertained with the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed of Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

^x The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Seythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle feigned a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Seythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drank largely, and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words, * “ Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable.”

^x Her. l. i. c. 205.—214. Justin. l. i. c. 8.

* Satia te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.—Justin. l. i. c. 8.

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy, and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of an history. And as to the manner of his death, what probability is there that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid by a woman for him? ^y What the same historian relates concerning his hasty violent passion, and his childish revenge upon the river ^{*} in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper. Besides, ^z is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the holy scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus relates it, those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference as there is between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best; for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

^y Her. l. i. c. 189.

^z Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 21.

* Gyndes.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES.

As soon as Cambyses was seated on the throne, he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis: of this I have already given an account. But it is more probable, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

b Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phoenicians furnished him with ships. As for his land-army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks in the service of Amasis, and being some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyses, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay between the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march through the desert that lay between those two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyses could never have marched his army that way.

c Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he was arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render

a A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529. Herod. l. iii. c. 1.—3.
l. iii. c. 4.—9.

c Idem, c. 10.

b Herod.

himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all likelihood it must have stopped him a great while. But according to Polyenus ^d, to facilitate this enterprise, Cambyses invented the following stratagem. Being informed that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison, not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyses became master of the place without opposition.

^e When Cambyses had got possession of the city, Psammenitus advanced with a great army to stop his progress; and a considerable battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in Psammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in presence of the two armies drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with great fury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greatest part were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.

^f On the occasion of this battle, Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that you might break them, or pierce them through, with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.

^g Cambyses, having pursued the run-aways to Memphis, sent an herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the

^d Polyen. l. vii.

^e Herod. l. iii. c. 11.

^f Idem, c. 12.

^g Idem, c. 13.

river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyses, having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the prime nobility, as there had been of his people massacred, to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, did what he could to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which, he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months; after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success, the Lydians, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyses, to make him their submissions.

^h From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of his tomb; and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire, and to be burnt, which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage this prince testified against the dead carcase of Amasis, shews to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyses had of carrying his arms into Egypt.

ⁱ The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different countries; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phoenicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to succour him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

^k But, being determined to invade the other two nations, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both.

^h Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

ⁱ Idem, c. 17. 19.

^k Idem, c. 20.—24.

They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents, amongst which there was nothing useful or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, spies and enemies in disguise. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing, after his way, to make a present to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he drew it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: “ This is the present and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. “ When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this big-“ ness and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent “ it, then let him come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring “ more troops with him than Cambyses is master of. In “ the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having “ put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their do-“ minions beyond their own country.”

¹ This answer having enraged Cambyses, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions, nor any thing necessary for such an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

^m As soon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage their country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But, after they had made several days march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed, and buried under it.

In the mean time, Cambyses marched forwards like a madman towards the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions; which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil; but Cambyses would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees: but, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were

¹ Herod. L iii. c. 25.

^m Idem, c. 25. 26.

reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as meat for his companions; a meat, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: ⁿ *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame sævius.* Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops, (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were still reserved to carry his kitchen-furniture, and the instruments of his luxury: ^o *Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.*

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes; ^p where he succeeded much better in the war declared against the gods, whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The richness of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains, saved from the flames, amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. ^q He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold, that encompassed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being three hundred and fifty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

^r From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes; but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicing, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this to have been for the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer: upon

ⁿ De Ira, l. iii. c. 20. ^o Ibid.

^p Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43. ^q Idem, p. 46.

^r Herod. l. iii. c. 27.—29.

which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But when instead of a god he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then, upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them to be severely whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.

^s The Egyptians say, that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyses grew mad. But his actions shewed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.

^t He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus, besides himself, and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which Cambyses's ambassadors brought him from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyses from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that somebody told him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the throne, and sent after him into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.

^u This murder was the cause of another still more criminal. Cambyses had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner his sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyses absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them, whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges, being unwilling on the one hand directly to authorize

^s Her. l. iii. c. 30.

^t Ibid.

^u Idem, 31. 32.

such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a salvo, and gave him this crafty answer : That they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry a sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. Which serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe, he from her gave that name to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it ; for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The thing that gave occasion to his murdering this princess, was as follows : One day Cambyses was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog ; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Cambyses, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better an end.

^x He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried aliye, and daily sacrificed some one or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and favourites, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. "They admire, " Sir," says Prexaspes, "a great many excellent qualities they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine." "I understand you," replied the king, "that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason ; you shall be judge of that immediately." Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand up-

^x Her. l. iii. c. 34. 35. Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 14.

right at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him ; and declaring that he aimed it at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and shewing the father the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him, in an insulting scoffing manner, If he had not a steady hand ? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, “ Apollo himself ‘ could not have shot better.’” Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shewn his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father : *Sceleratus telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.*

^y When Croesus took upon him to advise Cambyses against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Croesus was alive.

It was about this time, Oretes, one of Cambyses’s *Satrapæ*, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

^z This Polycrates was a prince, who, through the whole course of his life, had been perfectly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment, or unfortunate accident, to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. In this letter he declared to him, that he had terrible apprehensions concerning his condition ; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected ; that some malignant invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly, sooner or later, bring ruin and destruction upon him ; and, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some

^y Her. l. iii. c. 36.

^z Idem, c. 39.—43.

misfortune to himself by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed his advice. Having an emerald ring which he mightily esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary bigness, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He wrote another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange, whimsical notion this ! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title destitute of all substance and reality.

^a Be that as it will, the thing, however, did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyses fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another *satrapæ* had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious to his master, Oretes upon this resolved, at any rate, to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this. He feigned an inclination, upon some pretended discontent, to revolt from Cambyses, but must first take care, he said, how to secure his treasure and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time to make him a present of one half of them, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a thing he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. When he came

there, he shewed him a vast number of bags full of gold as he thought, but in truth filled with stones, and having only the mouth of them covered over with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends, and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged. In such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life, which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.

^b Cambyses, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria, he found an herald there, sent from Susa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in this manner. Cambyses, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who, perhaps, for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which was concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyses indulged his extravagance to such a degree, that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

^c Cambyses caused the herald that came with these orders into Syria to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave

^b Herod. l. iii. c. 61.

^c Idem, c. 62.—64.

him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians, remarking that it was upon the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, reckoned it as a judgement upon him for that sacrilegious impiety.

^d While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; which understanding of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria; for the town where he lay sick of this wound was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking he had said all this out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it, but, upon his death, quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

^e Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. In scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addresses directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed, he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements he laid the Jews under; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

THIS prince is called in scripture Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled on the throne, by the death of Cambyses^f, the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, setting forth

^d Herod. l. iii. c. 64.—66.

Ant. J. C. 522. 1 Esd. iv. 7.—14.

^e 1 Esd. iv. 4. 6.

^f A. M. 3432.

what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter, they obtained an order from the king, prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any further in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, according to the custom of the eastern monarchs in those times, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intercourse of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate confidants to his presence.

^g And, the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied, from his first accession, to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Persians, on the revolution that happened afterwards.

^h But those very precautions he made use of, to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility, or the people, did but make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered, that having never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, desired her to inquire of Atossa, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him, that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might sa-

^g Herod. l. iii. c. 67.

^h Idem, c. 69.

tisfy herself that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to; and finding that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word of it to her father, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

ⁱ Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility; and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father Hystaspes was governor of ^{*}Persia, coming very seasonably as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.

^k While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the least expectation of, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus.

When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and, to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis the son of Cyrus, by Cambyses's order; that the person who now possessed the throne, was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

^l The conspirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected; for the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their scimitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis the Magian and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the

ⁱ Herod. l. iii. c. 70.—73.

^k Idem, 74. 75.
→ The province so called.

^l Idem, 76.—78.

affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, lest, at the same time, he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

^m In the same instant, with their hands all besmeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patishthes to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this, the people grew so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon their whole sect, and slew as many of them as they could find. For this reason, the day on which this was done thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The slaughter of the Magi*; nor durst any of that sect appear in public upon that festival.

When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords who had slain the usurper entered into consultation among themselves, what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniences to which that form of government was liable, chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyzes, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. "A king," said he, "knows what he does; but the people neither know nor hear any thing, and blindly give themselves up to those who know how to amuse them."

He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, shewed the inconveniences of an aristocracy, otherwise called oligarchy, wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, all natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder, for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to one man's authority: and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous; inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations. "In short," said he, "to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undenieble, "to what form of government is owing the present greatness "of the Persian empire! Is it not to that which I am now "recommending?" Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords, and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

ⁿThe next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly, they agreed to meet the next morning, by sun-rising, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city, and he whose horse first neighed should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his master. He carried, the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, but he fell a-neighing; whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achaemenes.

^oThe Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were the first

ⁿ Herod. l. iii. c. 84.—87.

^o Idem.

to deliver their opinions. Whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backward, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forward, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forward the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS.

I SHALL give, in this place, a joint account of the manners and customs of all these several nations, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and that, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads:

- I. Their government.
- II. Their art of war.
- III. Their arts and sciences. And,
- IV. Their religion.

After which I shall lay down the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

ARTICLE I.

OF GOVERNMENT.

AFTER a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these few things: their public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of their provinces; and the good order observed in their revenues.

SECTION I.

THEIR MONARCHIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE RESPECT THEY PAID THEIR KINGS. THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.

MONARCHIAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons, the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that ever was established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

^p Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicegerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the Supreme Governor of the world, and clothed with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did the Pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: ^q *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungatur.*

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power, because it cometh from God, and is entirely appointed for the good of the public: besides, it is evident, that an authority not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism, these honours and homages, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within bounds in that particular.

* We honour the emperor, said Tertullian in the name of all

^p Plut. in Themist. p. 125. ad Princ. indoc. p. 780.

^q Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

* Colimus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit; ut hominem a Deo secundum, et quicquid est, a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem, — Tertul. L. ad Scap.

the Christians; but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has receiyed all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls, in another place, the emperor a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first: ^r *Religio secundæ majestatis.*

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, “The great king, the “king of kings.” Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title. The one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head; the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court, or dependent upon them.

^s The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicing; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual festival and day of solemnity for all the Persians.

The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince’s education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince’s person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasus; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleasures, that

^r Apolog. c. i. p. 34.

^s Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 121.

^t Idem.

he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures, that for a superior strength of mind and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know, whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was proper to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible, that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably, the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence, with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of attendants, that paid him a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention: dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation, therefore, quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Aleibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe, that he was more careful than his predecessors in the point of educating his children, but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECTION II.

THE PUBLIC COUNCIL, WHEREIN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE
ARE CONSIDERED.

As absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes, or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished for their wisdom and abilities, than for their extraction. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into association against Smerdis the Magian, and killed him.

The scripture relates, that Ezra was sent into Judea, in the name and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors; "from before the king and his seven counsellors." The same scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice.

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving, on account of his wisdom and prudence; though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now, this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of counsel; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: by which proceeding, he really shewed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and supposes a great fund of me-

rit. For a prince of slender talents, and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is. He thinks it want of respect, to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to * govern by the laws: to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him, which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king, was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men, and the best heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. Upon this council the king discharged himself of several weighty cares, which he must otherwise have been overburdened with; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights, prevented. For in a public and general council, things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration; because,

* Regimur a te, et subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus.—Plin. Paneg. Traj.

though, as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom.

Two things, which, as the scriptures inform us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. ^x The first was, their having public registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded. ^y The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly entered. These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a clear and true idea of the state of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain an uniformity in the course of affairs; and in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

SECTION III.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. "God hath made you king over his people," said the queen of Sheba to Solomon, "to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgement unto them." God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them in a condition of fearing none but him. His design, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability, or want of power, he has delegated his

^x I Esd. v. 17. and vi. 2.

^y Ibid. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1.

whole power unto them ; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any person whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries ? Why, it is nothing else but order ; and order consists in observing an universal equity, and that force do not usurp the place of law ; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another ; that the common band of society be not broken ; that artifice and fraud may not prevail over innocence and simplicity ; that all things may rest in peace under the protection of the laws, and the weakest among the people may find his sanctuary in the public authority.

^z We learn from Josephus, that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country ; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the hystory of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others : but to be assisted is not to be deprived, or dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice ; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of speaking wisely upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne, till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science whereof they were the only masters and professors, as well as of theology.

Now, since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice ; and since, within his dominions, there is no other power of administering it, than what is delegated

^z Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care, into what hands he commits a part of so great a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne are worthy to partake of such a prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy! We find that in Persia, their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. ^a One of their royal judges, for so they called them, having suffered himself to be corrupted by bribery, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgement, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place whence he gave judgement should remind him of his duty.

^b Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which disposed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.

^c Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. ^d Upon this principle it was that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, ^e and acknowledged that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgements, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without bringing his accuser to his face,

^a Herod. l. v. c. 25.

^b Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.

^c Herod. l. i. c. 137.

^d Herod. l. vii. c. 194.

^e Γνες ὡς ταχὺτερος αὐτος και σοφάτερος ἐγνωσμένος ἐη, ἐλυσι.

and without giving him time, and all other means necessary, for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge : and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. ^f Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer ; and to that end, sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great credit he had with his Majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light ; they make it their business to shut out the innocent from all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned ; but he desired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king did so : and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial. All the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. This prince, who was very wise, and knew that one of the true signs of a prudent government, was to have the subjects stand more in fear of the laws * than of informers, would have thought, that to have acted otherwise than he did, would have been a direct violation of the most common rules of † natural equity and humanity ; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge ; it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming these with the sword of public authority : in a word, it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

^g There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia,

^f Diod. l. xv. p. 333.—336.

^g Esth. c. iii. &c.

* Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur.—Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

† Princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat.—Sueton. in Vit. Domit. c. ix.

before Artaxerxes ; in him, I mean, whom the scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him ; but, which is more, by a public acknowledgement of his error ; which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure them both the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others ; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the Most High God, through whose goodness he and his ancestors had attained to the throne.

^h The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shewn, but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongst them as a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, because it makes people liars.

SECTION IV.

THE CARE OF THE PROVINCES.

IT seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is nearly inspected, and the very sight of the throne is capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disor-

^h Herod. l. i. c. 138.

der on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into * an hundred and twenty-seven governments, the governors whereof were called *satrapæ*. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These *satrapæ* were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These *satrapæ* being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their station, and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he desired they should be to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court, might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the *satrapæ*, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the *satrapæ*, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and caused the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and instructions, that if the *satrapæ* were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so

* Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces.—Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229. 232.

many overseers and censors of their conduct. And, to make this correspondence by letters the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful dispatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of this section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

Notwithstanding all this, the care of the provinces was not entirely left to the *satrapæ* and governors; the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning when he waked: ⁱ “Rise, Sir, ‘and think of discharging the duties for which Oromasdes ‘has placed you upon the throne.’” Oromasdes was the principal god anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch, in the account he gives of this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition; his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

^k The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time, personally to visit all the provinces of his empire; being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; to * reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities; to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the dint of power and severity, as by reason and temper; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influences universally; or rather like a divinity, to be present every where, to see, to hear, and know every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the greatest men of the

ⁱ Plut. ad Princ. indoct. p. 780.

^k Xenoph. in Oeconom. p. 228.

* Reconciliare ænulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; postremo, velocissimi sideris more omnia invisere, omnia audire, et undecimque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse et adsistere.—Plin. in Panegyr. Traj.

kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and the ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of their whole body-politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shews how well they understood in those days wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not only employed upon great objects, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the preparations of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and, above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting of all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonwealth is universal. * It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing; it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

¹ I have already said, that agriculture was one of the main things on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was to make husbandry flourish; and those *satrapæ*, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as

¹ Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827.—830.

* *Is, cui curæ sunt universa, nullum non reip. partem tanquam sui nutrit.*—*Senec. lib. de Clem. c. xiii.*

there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government, so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. For these two employments had a near relation, the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection, because both concurred, and were equally necessary for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security ; so neither can the soldiers, on the other hand, be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen, who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated ; that he might know whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing ; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the Younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit ; that he rewarded the superintendants and overseers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.

^m Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker therein, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment in the world the most worthy of men's application, the most ancient, and the most suitable to their nature ; as the common nurse of persons of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion ; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues, both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walk-

^m Xenoph. Oecon. p. 830.—833.

ing at Sardis with the Younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, made the following answer, That the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune, and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure, and so conformable to right reason. “ⁿ Cùm Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum dimen-
“sus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum
“arborum meâ manu sunt satæ: tum Lysandrum, intuen-
“tem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis, ornatumque
“Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: * REC-
“TE VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI
“TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST.” How much is it to be wished, that our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality, especially if they would consider, that for several ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive that I mean the ancient Romans.

THE INVENTION OF POSTS AND COURIERS.

◦ I promised to give some account, in this place, of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus; nor indeed can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after its last conquests, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and the chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to put himself into a condition of receiving speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of sending his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a

ⁿ Cic. de Senect. num. 59. ^o Xcn. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

* In the original Greek there is still a greater energy: Διπλῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κύρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁνὴ εὐδαιμονεῖς. Thou art worthy, Cyrus, that happiness thou art possessed of; because, with all thy affluence and prosperity, thou art also virtuous.

good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day, without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed; nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the weather, interrupt its progress. ^p Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

These couriers were called, in the Persian language, *Αγραεοι**. The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. ^q Darius, the last king of the ancient Persians, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

The world is justly surprised to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued for so many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering the usefulness of it to a government, should never be imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and Romans.

It is more astonishing, that where this invention was put in execution, it was not further improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds: by the expedition it would have procured to the affairs of private persons; the dispatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from

^p Herod. l. viii. c. 98. ^q Plut. l. i. de Fortun. Alex. p. 326. et in Vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi pro *Ασγαρδης*, legendum *Ασταρδης*.

* *Αγραεοι* is derived from a word which, in that language, signifies a service rendered by compulsion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb *ἀγραπέειν*, compellere, cogere; and the Latins, angariare. According to Suidas, they were likewise called Astendæ.

one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of affairs together ; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time ; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country whither they had letters to send ; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expence ; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it ; the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here : I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all parts of the kingdom, did, for their sakes and convenience, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold, for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests ; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet ; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets, for the public as well as the university. In the university-registers of the four nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii Volantes*, to signify the great speed and dispatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expence that she erected these offices, to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has, moreover, maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund or support, than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that King Louis XV. by

his decree of the council of state, of the 14th of April 1719, and by his letters-patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university, the students shall be taught *gratis*; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres, or thereabouts*.

It is not, therefore, without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, reckons Louis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit, which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. ^r *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*

SECTION V.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES.

THE prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him is the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But, to enable him for these ends, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expences. It is, moreover, just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of empire; as also to procure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expences of the state, have been the first causes of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be the common standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions, since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can pur-

^r Quintil. I. xii. c. 7.

* About L. 8500 Sterling.

chase his peace and security at the expence of so slender a contribution.

^s The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in monies imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind, as eorn and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. ^t Strabo relates, that the *satrapæ* of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts. By this we may form a judgement of the other levies in the several provinces. But we are to consider, that the tributes were only exaeted from the conquered nations; for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the sums each provincee was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time the pecuniary impositions, as nearly as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, whieh is attended with great difficulties, amounted to nearly forty-four millions French money *.

^u The place wherein was kept the publie treasure, was called in the Persian language Gaza. There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Parsagada, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians was of gold, and called *Daricus*, from the name of [†]Darius, who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The Darie is sometimes also called *Stater Aureus*, beeause the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two draehms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty draehms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

^x Besides these tributes, whieh were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing vietuals and provision for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other neessaries for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the remounting of his eavalry. This contriibution was imposed upon the sixseore *satrapies*, or provincees,

^s Herod. l. iii. c. 89.—97. ^t Idem, l. xi. p. 530. ^u Curt. l. iii. c. 12.

^x Herod. l. iii. c. 91.—97. et l. i. c. 192.

* About two millions Sterling.

[†] Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined.

each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject, we see the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt, they had observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money, without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to the rendering of taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble, as well as expence, as the taking in payment from each country, such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

^y There were likewise certain cantons assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments: and these cantons, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; these cantons, I say, took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the Queen's Girdle, another the Queen's Veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.

^z The way of the king's giving pensions in those days to such persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queen. We read, that the king of Persia assigned the revenue of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture. ^a Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to

^y Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 123. ^z Plut. in Them. p. 127. ^a Athen. l. i. p. 30.

whom he gave the revenue of seven cities. In following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II.

OF THEIR WAR.

THE people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleasure. When I say all, I must be understood to except the Persians, who even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect, therefore, to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence you find in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise, after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shewn in the sequel.

I. THEIR ENTRANCE INTO THE SERVICE, OR INTO MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

^b THE Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises. Generally speaking, they served in the armies, from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore swords as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to list themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that

^b Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. sub. finem.

respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes ^c to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired, as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.

^d Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called immortal, because this body, which consisted of ten thousand, perpetually subsisted, and was always complete; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The establishment of this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their singular courage. ^e Quintus Curtius mentions also this body of men, and another body besides, consisting of fifteen thousand, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called Doryphori, or the Lancers.

II. THEIR ARMOUR.

THE ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half-pike, having a sharp-pointed iron at the end.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to fling, and the other to fight with. They made great use of the bow, and the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called Tiaras; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger ^f, and his army. And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that their custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, breasts,

^c Herod. l. iv. et. vi. Sen. de Ira, l. iii. c. 16. 17. ^d Herod. l. vii. c. 93.
^e Idem, l. iii. c. 3. ^f De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263.

and flanks, covered with brass. These were what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of their shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones; made only of twigs of osier, *gerra*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers, slingers, &c. composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight; he, I say, for these reasons, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

III. CHARIOTS ARMED WITH SCYTHES.

^g CYRUS introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war. These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service: since, for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horses and six hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting-men that rode in them, by putting the drivers into a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken; and their axle-trees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axle-tree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axle-tree with their

edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. ^h It appears from several passages in authors, that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives, to hinder any one from mounting behind.

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain causes of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all others to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the people found the inconveniences of them, and at length laid them aside. For to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast large plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gutters, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. ⁱ It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle with Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances, upon them, and at the same time fall a-shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses of the chariots, and occasioned such a disorder and confusion among them, as often made them turn about, and run foul upon their own forces. ^k At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and inactive, only by marching over the space which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots, by raising loud peals of laughter, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, and by crying out that they should send more.

^h Liv. I. xxxvii. n. 41.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k Plut. in Syll. p. 463.

IV. THEIR DISCIPLINE IN PEACE AS WELL AS IN WAR.

NOTHING can be imagined more perfect, than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods used by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's Cyropædia, in order to form his troops by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue, by keeping them continually breathing and employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battle by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards; all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, greatly sharpen and excite. * A wise pre-science of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle; not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all Asiatics, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. ¹ They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches; though sometimes they fortified them with good palisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of their exactness on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the accounts we have of it in several parts of the Cyropædia. No single family can be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience,

¹ Diod. l. i. p. 24. 25.

Metuensque futuri,

In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.—HOR: Satyr. ii. l. 2.

on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish a good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their * leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his discourse, and softened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. † For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in full force and vigour.

V. THEIR ORDER OF BATTLE.

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else but field-expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory than a numerous and good cavalry; and that the gaining of one single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see, that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and so far succeeded, by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness at least, if not in number. ^m There were

^m Herod. I. vii. c. 40. Strab. I. xi. p. 530.

* Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus fréquens adesse: laudem strenuis, solatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere.—*Tacit. Annal.* I. xiii. c. 35.

† Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli assequantur, qui periculis non affuerunt.—*Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 53.*

were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media: but in the latter province, those of a place called Nisea were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbræa may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to shew how far their ability extended, either in the use of arms, or disposition of armies.

They knew, that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves, as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, one single line might easily be pierced through and broken, so would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason, they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, * twelve men deep, who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords, or scimitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force; but, in after times, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

* Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.

They had, besides, moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army, behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops when they were driven back by the enemy, and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use, too, of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them at certain times upon the flanks of the army, or when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable country, or bringing the war into a close one; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains, and by that means to make the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous, and to put it out of the enemy's power to surround or flank them.

Yet, in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seem to have been some beginnings, and a kind of essays of this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience, made the great commanders in after ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war; and we have already shewn, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations, made of them.

VI. THEIR MANNER OF ATTACKING AND DEFENDING STRONG PLACES.

THE ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days,

as also from the force and variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

1. THEIR WAY OF ATTACKING PLACES.

THE first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms; and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with pallisadoes, to hinder the besieged from going out, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related by the ancients; as that of * Troy, which lasted ten years; that of Azoth by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts; and this was, building moving towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with these wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who, with darts and arrows, and the assistance of their ballistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then, from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of draw-bridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they

* Homer makes no mention of the ram, or any warlike engine.

made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast thick beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it, which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. There were several kinds of them; but I shall give a more ample and particular account of these, as well as of other warlike engines, in another place.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways, that is, either to carry on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so open themselves a passage and entrance into it, or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, to fill the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then to set that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and thrown down part of it.

2. THE MANNER OF DEFENDING PLACES.

WITH respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a steep ascent, and fenced them round with pallisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derived their origin, for the flanking of the curtains; the ingenious invention of different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence; their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldiers security, and their covered galleries, which went quite round the walls, and served as subterraneous passages; their intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers: they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire; as also their counter-mines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as

the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practised among the ancients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns, as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gun-powder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram, and musket-shot in the room of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. THE CONDITION OF THE PERSIAN FORCES AFTER CYRUS'S TIME.

I HAVE already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages which result from severity, order, or discipline; from the drawing up of an army, their order in marching and encamping, and that happiness of conduct which moves those great bodies without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons in the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such an

height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights, in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars, the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, had the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders never reached them in time; and in action, every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's preventing disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed all that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

But with all this vast train, the Persians astonished those nations that were as inexpert in military affairs as themselves; and many of those that were better versed therein, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened or distressed by their own divisions, or overpowered by their enemy's numbers. And by this means Egypt, as proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of her Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the Lesser Asia, and such Greek colonies as the luxury of Egypt had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies, indeed, were but small; but they were like those strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul, so perfect an harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I do not pretend to give an account of the eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy, its true design, the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections, and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, and be adapted to the majesty of the subject it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the east, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eastern eloquence in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to Plato ⁿ, that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, of which they have falsely ascribed the invention to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. ^o The holy scripture informs us, that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and putting them to numberless uses, that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the same scriptures, that, very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it, to gild wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals, as brass, silver, or gold, and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and, 5. To name no more, that of dyeing their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

ⁿ In Timo, p. 22.^o Gen. vi.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the nurse, as it were, of arts and sciences, of which the remembrance had been preserved by tradition, and which were afterwards revived again and restored, by means of men's wants and necessities, which put them upon all the methods of industry and application.

SECTION I.

ARCHITECTURE.

THE building of the tower of Babel, and shortly after, of those famous cities, Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into sundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or convenience could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; their large and commodious quays on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them; all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, shew to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

Yet I cannot say, whether, in those ages, this art arose to that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and spaciousness. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite: but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order, which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

SECTION II.

MUSIC.

IT is no wonder, if in a country like Asia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, music, which is in a manner

the soul of such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal notes of ancient music, which the moderns have still preserved, namely the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin, or at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. p We learn from holy scripture, that in Laban's time, instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family, "with mirth and with song, with tabret and with harp." q Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous * female musicians, very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.

To determine what degree of perfection music was carried to by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But unhappily, it is not with music, in this respect, as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whilst, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgement of it, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the rhythmus. What is meant by rhythmus, is the assemblage or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed, that the music we are here speaking of, was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which every syllable was distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pro-

p Gen. xxxi. 27.

q Cyrop. I. iv. p. 13.

* Μαρσηγες δύο τὰς κούτισας.

nounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, whilst the latter made up two; and consequently, the sound which answered to this was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung consisted of a certain number of feet, formed by the different combinations of these long and short syllables; and that the rhythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent soever, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *αρσης*, elevation or raising, and the latter *στριψης*, depression or falling; so the rhythmus of the song, which answered to every one of these feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a *beat*, and a rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal music, made their rhythmus much more perfect and regular than ours, for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but, nevertheless, a skilful musician amongst us may in some sort express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rhythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done out of regard for young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the ancients, is to know, whether they understood music in several parts, that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have an harmonious connection, as it is in our counterpoint or concert, whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy des Belles Lettres, which shew the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

SECTION III.

PHYSIC.

WE likewise discover, in those early times, the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. ^r Herodotus, and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians, to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them whether they had been afflicted with the like distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended, that physic is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. ^s The custom was, in those days, for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a picture of Æsculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

^t Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem. Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to a great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations; for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included together under the denomination of Physic.

^u The two sons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were both excellent physicians and brave officers, and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in their physical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. ^x Nor did Achilles himself, or even Alexander the Great in after times, think the knowledge of

^r Herod. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. 16. p. 746.

^s Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374. ^t Diod. l. v. p. 341.

^u Hom. Iliad. l. x. v. 821.—847. ^x Plut. in Alex. p. 668.

this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learned it himself of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his governor and friend Patroclus in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain, and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. ^y Virgil, speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples. *Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi maluit.* It was nature herself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. ^z Their gardens, fields, and woods, supplied them *gratis* with an infinite plenty and variety. ^a As yet no use was made of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.

^b Pliny says, that physic, brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. ^c The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard: he further remarks, that in this Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals; ^d and that the Younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates who carried this science to its highest perfection: and though it be certain, that several improvements and new discoveries have been made in that art since his time, yet he is still looked upon by the ablest physicians as the first and chief master of the faculty, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish themselves in that profession.

^y Æn. I. xii. v. 396.

^z Plin. I. xxvi. c. 1.

^a Idem, I. xxiv. c. 7.

^b Lib. xxix. c. 9.

^c Cyrop. I. i. p. 29. et I. viii. p. 212.

^d De Exped.

Cyr. I. ii. p. 311.

Men thus qualified, who, besides their having studied the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, besides the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: ^e “The skill of “the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of “great men he shall be in admiration:” since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings, are devoted to the people’s health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly intrust it with persons of no skill or experience ^{*}, who impose upon them by their imprudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

SECTION IV.

ASTRONOMY.

As much as the Grecians desired to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous [†] situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide-extended flat country, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. [‡] The abbot Renaudot, in his Dissertation upon the Sphere, observes, that

^e Eccles. xxxviii. 3.

^{*} Palam est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vita nostræ necisque fieri.—Adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo.—Plin. I. xxix. c. 1.

[†] A principio Assyrii propter planitatem magnitudinemque regionem quas incolebant, cum celum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motus stellarum observaverunt.—Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 2.

[‡] Memoirs of the Acadmy des Belles Lettres, Vol. I Part ii. p. 2.

the plain which in scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same that is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaleddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused a course of the like observations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the properst in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical inquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny, ^f speaks of observations made for the space of seven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick: which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. ^g Those of which Calisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shews, ^h the study of that science has a very close and necessary connection; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity; who with an infinite wisdom presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, by their successful * application and astronomical inquiries,

^f Plin. Hist. Nat. I. vii. c. 56. ^g Porphyr. apud. Simplic. in l. ii. de caelo.

^h In Epinom. p. 989.—992.

* Magna industria, magna solertia: sed ibi Creatorem scrutati sunt positum non longe a se, et non invenerunt—quia querere neglexerunt.—August. de Verb. Evang. Matth. Serm. lxviii. c. 1.

came very near the Creator, and yet were so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECTION V.

JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY.

As to the Babylonian and other eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of him who is both their Creator and Director, that for the most part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagances of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which reaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects. A science justly looked upon as a madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. ⁱ *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first produced them; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space *only* of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and, in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He repeats a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridicule of which sufficiently exposes it to contempt; and asks, Why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two of them whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this further question, Whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?

^k It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, *fraudulentissima artium*, as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit as this

ⁱ Lib. ii. de Div. n. 87. 99.

^k Plin. Proem. l. xxx.

has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them : *Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi*, attended with a superstitious credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered with the large and grateful promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligt humanum genus.*

¹ Modern writers, and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendus and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the system of the astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts ; which parts are taken, not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac : these twelve parts, or proportions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. The most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed : the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally arbitrary ; and I ask, Whether any man of common sense can give into them upon the bare word of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability ? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception ? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of child-bearing ? Or, is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise determinate moment, without the least variation of more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all ? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter

¹ Gassendi Phys. sect. ii. l. 6. Rohault's Phys. part ii. ch. 27.

themselves on that side. Whatever they have of that, must consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now, it is unanimously agreed by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass before any such situation of the stars as they would imagine, can twice happen; and it is very certain, that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above mentioned, particularly Gassendus, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute want of all reason, is, that certain pretended wits, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors.

St Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a * just chastisement from God, who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretell them things which do really come to pass, and of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them †, does often in scripture revile the ignorance of the Babylonian astrologers, so much boasted of, calling them for-

* His omnibus consideratis, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus satis inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quæ nulla est.—*De Civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 7.

† “Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame.”—*Isa. xlviij. 11.—14.*

gers of lies and falsehood: he moreover defies all the false gods to foretel any thing whatsoever, and consents, if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after that prediction; and that none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgement, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when ^m Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, were not able so much as to read the writing. Here, then, we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display their science and whole power.

A R T I C L E IV.

RELIGION.

THE most authentic and general idolatry in the world, is that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitudé; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil, which both covered and discovered him. With the least reflection or penetration, they might have discerned the sovereign who commanded, from the * minister who did but obey.

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires, and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their † hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them

^m Dan. v. 2.

* Among the Hebrews, the ordinary name for the sun signifies minister.

† Superstitiosus vulgus manum ori admovens, osculum labii pressit.—Minhuc. p. 2. From thence is come the word adorare; that is to say, ad os manum admovere.

up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the east, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved : “ * If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been se-“ cretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand.”

ⁿ The Persians adored the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus’s stately cavalcade. (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians ; of whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Palestine.) ^o Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongst them by the name of Mithra.

^p By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in the sacrifices, ^q carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches ; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi ; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. ^r History informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. ^s The Persians likewise honoured the water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element ; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that “ they caused their children “ to pass through the fire.” It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

^t Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanus. The

ⁿ Her. l. i. c. 131. ^o 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 732. ^p Ibid.

^q Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. ^r Zonar. Annal. Vol. II.

^s Her. l. i. c. 231. ^t Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 369.

* The text is a kind of oath, Job xxxi. 26. 27.

former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a large account of these deities hereafter.

^u The Persians erected neither statues nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the top of hills, or on high places.

^x It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. * It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of God to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as an house or a temple.

[†] Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby supposed their gods to reside among them, which was a proper way to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion: ^y St Austin has preserved that passage of his works. After having observed, that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues or images for above an hundred and seventy years, he adds, that, if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod sic adhuc mansisset castius dii observarentur*; and to confirm his sentiment, he cites the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all particular persons to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worship; and it was to them the people had recourse,

^u Herod. l. i. c. 131. ^x Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233. ^y Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei, n. 3.

* Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciae dicitur, quod pariteribus includerunt deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domos.—Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

[†] Melius Græci atque nostri, qui, ut augerent pietatem in deos easdem illas urbes, quas nos incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus.—Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles ^z, and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for that distinguished person.

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *θεῶν θεραπείαν*, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and the people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

* And before a prince in Persia could come to the crown, he was obliged to receive instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without taking their advice and opinion before-hand ; for which reason † Pliny says, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the King of kings.

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning in Persia; as the Gymnosopists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion ; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that learning, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

^z In Them. p. 126.

* Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non ante Magorum disciplinam scientiamque percepere. — Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 91.

† In tantum fastigii adolevit (auctoritas Magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, et in oriente regnum regibus imperet. — Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.

It is generally agreed that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect ; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. ^a What Pliny says upon this head, may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr Prideaux. We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of six hundred years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect about the year of the world 2900 ; and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the east, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects ; that of the Sabeans, who adored images ; and that of the Magians, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the several planets, which they believed to be inhabited by so many intelligences, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time the number of their gods increased ; this image-worship, from Chaldea, spread itself throughout all the east ; from thence passed into Egypt ; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabeans was diametrically opposite that of the Magians, which also took its rise in the same eastern countries. The Magians utterly abhorred images, and worshipped God only under the form of fire ; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtlety, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol or representation of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. The chief doctrine was, that there were two principles ; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and

Ormuzd, and the evil god Abramian. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanus. ^b And therefore, when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanus, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.

Concerning these two gods, they had this difference of opinion, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, others contended that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thence-forward each of them shall have this world to himself; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but, since the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the first principle of it. For whereas before they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two supreme first causes; the first light, which was the author of all good, and the other darkness, the author of all evil: and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principal, superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil: that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle

^b Plut. in Themist. p. 126.

with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgement, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer, in everlasting darkness, the punishments of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive, in everlasting light, the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this, they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia and India, do, without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these articles, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God; the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might confer with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fires were carefully and constantly preserved; and especially that which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, &c. from whence I have taken this short extract.

THEIR MARRIAGES, AND MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD.

HAVING said so much of the religion of the eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I

shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity. Amongst which their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

^a There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain festival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel, or place of debauchery. ^b This wicked custom was still in being when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so abominable a scandal.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. ^c I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios, and of whom they were as jealous as if they had but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments, under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors. ^d It strikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a sister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyses. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. ^e We read in Plutarch, that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. For, says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, “Are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?”

^a Herod. l. i. c. 199. ^b Baruch vi. 42. 43. ^c Herod. l. i. c. 135.

^d Philo. lib. de Special. Leg. p. 778. Diog. Laert. in Proem. p. 6.

^e In Artax. p. 1023.

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become master of Persia by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. ^f It was not the custom of the eastern nations, and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames. ^g Accordingly we find that * Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body; and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return. ^h And when Cambyses had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all, by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of [†] the latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give the larger account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of [‡] Barnabas Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with matter of erudition, that costs him little, and yet often does him great honour.

^f Herod. l. iii. c. 16. ^g Cyrop. l. viii. p. 238. ^h Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

* Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepultura genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur.—Cic. lib. ii. de Leg. n. 56.

[†] Conduint Ægyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cera circumlitos conduint, ut quam maxime? permaneant diuturna corpora.—Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. n. 108.

[‡] Barnab. Brissonius de Regio Persarum Principatu, &c. Argentorati, an. 1710.

ARTICLE V.

THE CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE,
AND OF THE CHANGE THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR MANNERS.

WHEN we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus, and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people; and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners, in any state, is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

SECTION I.

LUXURY AND MAGNIFICENCE.

WHAT made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon; inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing.

The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus i would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent manuer of educating the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times.

i Plut. in Apophth. p. 171.

a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most intrepid and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them, therefore, we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories, he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not at that very time sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first shewed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show that could be contrived to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things, he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye, and makes a fine show, how glad they are to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

^k This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars: and what an equipage such a troop must be attended with is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext

^k Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv. p. 91.—99.

for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with greater resolution ; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities.¹ The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties, must needs be found for the prince, in what part of the world soever he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; * instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reasons Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes, possessed of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of making up what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expences; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for vanity and expence first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate this maxim.

¹ Senec. l. iii. de Ira. c. 20.

* Non belli sed luxuria*æ* apparatum—Aciem Persarum auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat Alexander, pradam, non arma gestantem.—Q. Curt.

What is this subtle, secret poison, then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements that endear it to them, and which, by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECTION II.

THE ABJECT SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY OF THE PERSIANS.

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And, indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies; and, as it was finely said by one of the ancients, “^m From the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue.” He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the success of public affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be said, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in

^m Hom. Odys. v. 322.

an arbitrary manner ; nor did he think that a despotic power was worthy of a king ; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open, and free access allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all ; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit ; invited to his table, not only his general officers, and prime ministers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. * The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently. His aim therein was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may be truly called the art of governing and commanding.

In the reading of Xenophon, with what pleasure do we observe, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery, but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gaiety, which enlivened their entertainments, from which all vanity and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity, which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such a life and spirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such a conduct as this, a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expence. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as the Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident ; and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbræa, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army ; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to sup-

* Tantas vires habet frugalitas principis, ut tot impendii tot erogationibus sola sufficiat.— Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

port the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads with an imperial diadem round it, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and shining court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the eastern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom shewed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so; and ⁿ Plutarch observes that that prince, and queen Statira his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people, and by so doing were but the more respected.

Among the Persians, no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him: and this law, which Seneca ^o with good reason calls a Persian slavery, *Persicam servitutem*, extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance; and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration ^p, purposely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about an homage which the king exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the scripture relates of two sovereigns ^q, on one hand, whereof the one commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the

ⁿ In Artax. p. 1013. ^o Lib. iii. de Benef. c. 12. et lib. iii. de Ira, c. 17.
^p Elian. l. i. Var. Histor. cap. xxi. ^q Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. ch. iii.
Darius the Mede, Dan. ch. vi.

other on the same penalty suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself only ; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven : All this shews to what an extravagant excess the eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only looked upon as slaves ; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity. ^r In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatics, and the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery ; which made ^s Cicero say, that the despotic power some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato ^t, were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king. Such an haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former ; and such an abject state of slavery, leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men so dispirited and depressed by slavery, as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude ! which, to use the words of Longinus ^u, is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted !

I am willing to say it, but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among

^r Plut. in Apophth. p. 213. ^s Lib. x. Epist. ad Attic. ^t Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697. ^u Cap. xxxv.

the Persians, both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians, till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances, first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance; for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus ^x, who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude, and by the Persians as well as the other nations. In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul, which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion; and I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks, with which prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes, ^y *Secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant*; and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him from himself, and his own natural inclination: ^z *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus.*

SECTION III.

THE WRONG EDUCATION OF THEIR PRINCES, ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

It is Plato ^a still, the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcuseable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible, how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience ^b. What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same

^x Cyrop. l. ii. p. 215.
a Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 694. 695.

^y Sallust.

^z Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 48.
^b Cyrop. l. vii. p. 200.

manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to persevere themselves in the practice of the same manners as were practised there.

Would one believe, that a prince who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country where vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness, reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes Cambyses and Smerdis educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them; nor were their desires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped, and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness, to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars: for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war, for they must needs have been of sufficient years; but perhaps the women opposed his design, and over-ruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as ought to be expected from it. Cambyses came out of that school, what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a furious frantic madman, who, by his ill conduct, brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death a great many vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land; but he had not given him the means of preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflection with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were, but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this Plato, after having shewn what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire, was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

SECTION IV.

THEIR BREACH OF FAITH, OR WANT OF SINCERITY.

WE^c are informed by Zenophon, that one of the causes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties, into which they had entered with the solemnity of an oath, and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity; and it was by this true policy and prudent conduct that they gained the absolute confidence, both of their own subjects, and of their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; ^d though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus, whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatsoever,

^c Cyrop. I. viii. p. 239.

^d De Exped. Cyr. I. i. p. 267.

with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that if probity and truth were renounced by the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king, who, being the bond and centre as it were of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.

Such sentiments as these, so noble, and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon ^e, which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief offices of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interest; * who hold it as a maxim, That falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients for bringing about his enterprises and designs; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer reasons and considerations of state before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in never so solemn and sacred a manner.

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety; and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity brought in not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qua-

^e Сутор. I. viii. p. 239.

* Επὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι αὐν ἐπεθυμοῖν, συντρομωτάτην ὁδον ὥστο εἶναι διὰ τὰ ἐπιορκεῖντε, καὶ Φευδεσθαι, καὶ ἔχεσθαι τὸ δὲ ἀπλύντε καὶ ἀληθές, τὰ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλθίν σικα.—De Exped. Сутор. I. i. p. 292.

lified to judge them, and for the keeping all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the Supreme Being, how will they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subject as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and by what stays or pillars shall the throne be supported? ^f Cyrus had good reason to say, that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing, that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shews of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best-established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, says ^g Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects' unfaithfulness and disloyalty; but they do them wrong, and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by shewing no regard to justice and fidelity, which, on all occasions, they sacrificed without scruple to their own particular interests.

^f Cyrop. I. viii. p. 204.

^g Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.

BOOK FIFTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ORIGIN AND SETTLEMENT
OF THE SEVERAL
STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE.

OF all the ancient nations, scarce have any been so highly celebrated, or furnish history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples, as Greece. In what light soever she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws, or the study and improvement of arts and sciences, all these she carried to the utmost degree of perfection; and it may truly be said, that in all these respects she has in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much affected with the history of such a nation; especially when we consider, that it has been transmitted to us by writers of extraordinary merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords, as by their pens, and were as great commanders and able statesmen, as excellent historians. I confess, it is a vast advantage to have such men for guides; men of an exquisite judgement and consummate prudence; of a just and perfect taste in every respect; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented, but, what is more, furnish all the proper reflections that are to accompany those facts, and which are the most useful improvements resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw

all that I have to say, after I have particularly inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of a short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

ARTICLE I.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

ANCIENT Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan, or Canadian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece are, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Greece properly so called, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is situated to the west, and divided from Thessaly and Macedonia by Mount Pindus and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The most remarkable inhabitants of Epirus are, the Molossians, whose chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The Chaonians, whose principal city is Oricum. The Thesprotians, whose city is Buthrotum, where was the palace and residence of Pyrrhus. The Acarnanians, whose city was Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood Actium, famous for the victory of Augustus Cæsar, who built over against that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous story, Cocytus and Acheron.

Epirus must have been very well peopled in former times; as Polybius relates, that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the Molossians; and that he carried away from thence no less than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners.

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninsula, now called the Morea, joined to the rest of Greece only by the Isthmus of

^a Apud Strab. l. vii. p. 322.

Corinth, that is but six miles broad. It is well known that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this Isthmus.

The parts of Peloponnesus are **ACHAIA**, properly so called, whose chief cities are, Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, &c. **ELIS**, in which is Olympia, otherwise called Pisa, seated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games used to be celebrated. **CYLLENE**, the country of Mercury. **MESSENIA**, in which are the cities of Messene, Pylos, in the last of which Nestor was born, and Corona. **ARCADIA**, in which stood the cities of Tegea, Stymphalos, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, Polybius's native place. **LACONIA**, wherein stood Sparta, or Lacedemon, and Amyclæ; Mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. **ARGOLIS**, in which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea; Mycenæ, Nauplia, Troezen, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æsculapius.

GREECE, PROPERLY SO CALLED.

THE principal parts of this country were, **ÆTOLIA**, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon and Olenus. **DORIS**, **LOCRIS**, inhabited by the Ozolæ. Naupactum, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. **PHOCIS**. Antictra. Delphos, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was Mount Helicon. **BŒOTIA**. Orchomenos. Thespia. Cheronea, Plutarch's native country. Platæa, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. **ATTICA**. Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munichia, and Phalerus; and mountains Hymettus and Cithæron. **LOCRIS**.

THESSALY. The most remarkable towns of this province were Gomphi, Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the defeat of Xerxes's numerous army by the vigorous resistance of three hundred Spartans. Phthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetria. The delightful vallies of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I shall only mention a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. Ægæa. Ædessa. Pallene. Olinthus, from whence the Olynthiacs of Demosthenes took their name. Torone. Arcanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonihi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Anthony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos; and the river Strimon.

THE GRECIAN ISLES.

THERE is a great number of islands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Corcyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalonia and Zant. Ithica, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Maleo, over-against Laconia, is Cithera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina and Salamine, so famous for the naval battle between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lie the Sporades; and the Cyclades, the most noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, anciently famous for fine marble. Higher up in the Ægean sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea, called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Skyros, and a good deal higher, Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and still farther, Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and lastly, Samos. Some of these last-mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, or Candia, is the largest of all the isles contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the Ægean sea, or the Archipelago; and to the south the African ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnossus; its mountains, Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous all over the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles.

They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria ^b, which places are for that reason called Græcia Magna.

^b Strab. l. vi. p. 253.

^c But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor, and particularly in Æolis, Ionia, and Doris. The principal towns of Æolis are, Cumæ, Phocæa, Elea. Of Ionia, Smyrna, Clazomene, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Ephesus. Of Doris, Halicarnassus and Cnidos.

They had also a great number of colonies dispersed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

ARTICLE II.

DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY INTO FOUR SEVERAL AGES.

THE Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, all noted by so many memorable epochas, all which together include the space of 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece, beginning with that of Sicyone, which is the most ancient, to the siege of Troy, and comprehends about a thousand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The second begins from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians; and contains the space of six hundred and sixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third is dated from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the finest part of the Grecian history, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and last age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline; and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfal of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and destruction of Corinth by the consul L. Mummius in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucides in Asia, by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939; and of the kingdom of the Lagides in Egypt, by Augustus, *anno mun.* 3974. This last age includes in all two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of these four distinct ages, I shall in this place only touch

upon the two first in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general notion of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, have more of fable in them than of real history; and are wrapped up in such darkness and obscurity, as are very hard, if not impossible, to penetrate: and I have often declared already, that such a dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are going to the bottom of history, does not come within the plan of my design.

A R T I C L E III.

THE PRIMITIVE ORIGIN OF THE GRECIANS.

IN order to arrive at any certain knowledge concerning the first origin of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the account we have of it in holy scripture.

^d Javan or Ion, for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed form these two different names, the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. ^e And for this reason, Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel, is mentioned under the name of the king of * Javan.

^f Javan had four sons, Eliza, Tarsis, Chittim, and Dodanim. As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, no doubt but his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became in succeeding ages so renowned for arts and arms.

Eliza is the same as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee translation; and the word Ελληνες, which was used in the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word Ελλας was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The city of Elis, very ancient in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Elissus, or Ilissus, have long retained the marks of their being derived from

^d Gen. x. 2.

^e Dan. viii. 21.

^f Gen. x. 4.

* Hircus caprarium rex Graeciae; in the Hebrew, rex Jayan.

Eliza, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; because, as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, they did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another fountain, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarsis was the second son of Javan. He settled, as his brethren did, in some part of Greece, perhaps in Achaia or the neighbouring provinces, as Eliza did in Peloponnesus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees, § in the beginning of which it is said, that Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cethim *, or Chittem, to make war against Darius, King of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last king of Macedonia, Philip and Perseus †, the two last-mentioned princes, are called kings of the Cetheans.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of the fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city of Dodona ‡ itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodanim had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment from him.

This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the true origin of the Grecian nation. The holy scripture, whose design is not to satisfy our curiosity, but to nourish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history; which therefore can only be collected from profane authors.

If we may believe ^h Pliny, the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is observable, that the word *Græcus* is not once used in Virgil.

g 1 Maccab. i. 1.

h Lib. iv. c. 7.

* Egressus de terra Cethim.

† Philippum et Perseum, Cethuorum reges.—Ver. 5.

‡ Δωδανη ἀπὸ Δωδανες τοῖς Διὸς καὶ Εὐρωπῆς.—Stephanus.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that article. But a people so vain of their origin, as to adorn it with fiction and fable, we may be sure, would never think of inventing any thing to its disparagement. ⁱ Who would imagine, that the people to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, and were ignorant even of agriculture? And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to the person ^k who first taught them to feed upon acorns, as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long process of time.

The weakest are not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another; the number of which insensibly increasing, formed in time towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. ^l Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians, by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into their mysteries.

^m Greece, in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; because, as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought most fertile and delightful, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and therefore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of *autochthones*, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of

ⁱ Pausan. l. viii. p. 455. 456.
l. v. c. 58.—60.

^k Pelasgus.

^l Herod. l. v. c. 58. et
Plin. l. v. c. 12. et l. vii. c. 56.

^m Thucyd. l. i. p. 2.

the nations, that had almost transplanted themselves from place to place.

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states, wherof the whole country consisted.

A R T I C L E IV.

THE DIFFERENT STATES INTO WHICH GREECE WAS DIVIDED.

IN those early times, kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

ⁿ **SICYON.** The most ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon, whose beginning is placed by Eusebius thirteen hundred and thirteen years before the first Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been about a thousand years.

^o **ARGOS.** The kingdom of Argos in Peloponessus, began a thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king of it was INACHUS. His successors were, his son PHORONEUS, APIS, ARGUS, from whence the country took its name; and after several others, GELANOR, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by DANAUS the Egyptian p. The successors of this last were first, LYNCEUS, the son of his brother AEGYPTUS, who alone, of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then ABAS, PROETUS, and ACRISIUS.

Of Danae, daughter to the last, was born Perseus, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather Acrisius, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ, and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. Perseus then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left several sons behind him; among others, Alcaeus, Sthenelus, and Electryon. Alcaeus was the father of Amphitryon, Sthenelus of Eurystheus, and Electryon of Alcinena. Amphitryon married Alcmene, upon whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Eurystheus and Hercules came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was, by Juno's manage-

ⁿ A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2089.
Euseb. in Chron.

^o A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1856.
p A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474.

ment antecedent to that of the latter. Hercules was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged, by his order, to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fable.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ after Perseus were, ELECTRYON, STHENELUS, and EURYSTHEUS. The last, after the death of Hercules, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him, which, as it happened, was done by the Heraclidæ; for having killed Eurystheus in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of the country. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt, which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

ATREUS, the son of Pelops, uncle by the mother's side to Eurystheus, was the latter's successor. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponnesus, which before was called Apia, derived its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the son of Atreus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his son AGAMEMNON, who was succeeded by his son Orestes. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISAMENES and PENTHILUS, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

At ATHENS. CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He also established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor CRANNAUS, adjudged the famous dispute between Neptune and Mars. In his time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, being a thousand and twenty years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTYON, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a-

year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the Assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of ERECTHEUS is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

^r The reign of ÆGEUS, the son of Pandion, is the most illustrious period of the history of the heroes. In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

THESEUS succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

CODRUS was the last king of Athens; he devoted himself to die for his people.

^s After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. MEDON, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth with the title of Archon, that is to say, President or Governor. The first Archontes were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great a resemblance to royal power, made their Archontes elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office.

^t THEBES. Cadmus, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country which was afterwards called Boëotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmæa, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Oedipus their son, of Etocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Oedipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA, or LACEDÆMON. It is supposed that LELIÆ, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the Christian era.

^r A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284.

^s A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070.

^t A. M. 3549. Ant. J. C. 1455.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedemon, had, by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena, and Clitemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of chusing a successor, by looking out for a husband for his daughter Helena. All the pretenders to this princess bound themselves by oath to abide by, and entirely submit to, the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans; which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city, where the Achilleses, the Ajaxes, the Nestors, and the Ulysseses, gave Asia sufficient reasons to forbode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a ten years siege, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, according to Bishop Usher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 years before Jesus Christ. This epocha is famous in history, and should be carefully remembered, as well as that of the Olympiads.

An Olympiad is the revolution of four complete years from one celebration of the Olympic games to another. We shall elsewhere give an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia.

The common era of the Olympiads begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before Jesus Christ, from the games in which Corebus won the prize in the races.

Fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-entered the Peloponnesus, and scized Lacedemon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus instituted that body of laws for the Spartan state, which rendered both the legislature and the republic so famous in history: I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

^u CORINTH. Corinth began later than the other cities I have been speaking of to be governed by particular kings.

u A. M. 2628. Ant. J. C. 1376.

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It was at first subject to those of Argos and Mycenæ; at last Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about 110 years after the siege of Troy.

The regal power after this came to the descendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom they called Prytanis. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Periander; who was ranked among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

^x MACEDONIA. It was a long time before the Greeks had any great regard to Macedonia. Her kings living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom CARANUS was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip and his son Alexander raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had subsisted 171 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 155 more, till Perseus was beaten and taken by the Romans; in all 626 years.

ARTICLE V.

COLONIES OF THE GREEKS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR.

WE have already observed, that fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tisamenes and Pentillus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedemon, among them.

So great a revolution as this almost changed the face of the country, and made way for several very famous immigrations; which the better to understand, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

^y Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly, and under whom

^x A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 1831.
I. vii. p. 396. &c.

^y Strab. l. viii. p. 383. &c. Pausan.

happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife two sons, Helenus and Amphictyon. This last, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Helenus, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Hellenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.

Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and besides Thessaly had Locris and Boeotia added to his dominions. Several of his descendants went into Peleponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peleponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnassus fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some particular disgust, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Euechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peleponnesus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His descendants settled at Lacedemon.

Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave the country his name; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of the Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave the name to the country they possessed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peleponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourscore years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Timenes, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus; the last dying, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as the motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient dominion. Argos fell to Timenes, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence

by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering, settled in that part of Asia Minor, which from them took the name of Æolis, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the town of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they some time afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

^z The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that were fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were worsted in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

^a One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus, another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in that part of Asia Minor, which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the island of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

THE GRECIAN DIALECTS.

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number; the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation; but yet all derived from and grounded upon the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages can no wise appear wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

^z Strabo. p. 393.

^a Idem, p. 653.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic; but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy, which the Athenians afterwards attained to. Hippocrates and Herodotus wrote in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans, and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracusans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Boeotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcaeus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI.

THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT ALMOST GENERALLY ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT GREECE.

THE reader may have observed in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all those different states was monarchical government, which was the most ancient of all forms, the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord; and which, as ^b Plato observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion which fathers exercise over their families.

But, as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, and severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions that happened in those states, a different spirit seized the people, which prevailed over all Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change

^b Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 680.

of government every where, except in Macedonia ; so that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diversified into almost as many varicus forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

However, there still remained a kind of tincture or leaven of the ancient monarchical government, which frequently inflamed the ambition of private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every state of Greece, some private persons arose, who, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence ; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrust and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions ; and to sacrifice to their own security all those whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and unsettled government, which found itself hated by all, and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these men so odious, and brought upon them the appellation of * Tyrants, and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece that seemed so entirely different from one another, in their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body ; whose strength increased to such a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble ; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to have preserved that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following volumes, a small nation confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of

* This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

France, disputing empire with the most powerful throne then upon the earth ; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as glorious for the conquerors.

Among all the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest, by the mere dint of their merit and conduct; these two were Lacedemon and Athens. As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought first to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the Lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

ARTICLE VII.

THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. LAWS ESTABLISHED BY LYCURGUS.

HERE is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and their discipline established in it by Lycurgus. ^c This legislator was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been easy for Lycurgus to have ascended the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and in effect he was king for some days. But as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared, that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow sent to him underhand, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went out her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he

^c Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 40.

proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

^d The state was at this time in great disorder, the authority, both of the king and the laws, being absolutely despised and unregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased more and more.

Lycurgus was so courageous as to form the design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons he could meet with in the art of government. He began with the island of Crete, whose hard and austere laws were very famous; from thence he passed into Asia, where quite different customs prevailed; and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

^e His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return; and the kings themselves importuned him to that effect, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this design in execution, he went to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo; where, after having offered his sacrifice, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him, "A friend of the gods, and rather 'a god than a man.'" And as for the favour he desired of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him, the gods had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the first thing he did, was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; when he was assured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order

^d Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 41.

^e Idem, p. 42.

to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may properly be reduced to three principal institutions.

INSTIT. 1.—THE SENATE.

^f Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus, the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the kings by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of that state. For whereas before it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight * senators of which it consisted siding with the king, when the people were grasping at too much power; and, on the other hand, espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty that composed the senate still too strong and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they devised the authority of the † Ephori, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people, and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus, whose wife reproached him, that he would leave his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government, then, was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people

^f Plut. in Vit. Lycurr. p. 42.

* This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

† The word signifies Comptroller or Inspector.

were not excluded. Each part of this body-politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage ; so that, in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for above seven hundred years in the exact observance of her laws.

INSTIT. 2.—THE DIVISION OF THE LANDS, AND THE PROHIBITION OF GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.

g The second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The major part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilst a small number of particular persons were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country ; in order, therefore, to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other dis tempers of the state still greater and more ancient than these, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre emiences or honours should be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This scheme, as extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country ; and the territories of Sparta into nine thousand parts, which he distributed among an equal number of citizens. It is said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along, the perfect equality of the reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said smiling, “ Does not Laconia look like the possession of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance amongst them ? ”

After having divided their immoveables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of inequality. But, perceiving that this

would go more against the grain if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundations of avarice. For, first, he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron ; which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten * minas, and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did, was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves, and disappeared with the gold and silver money ; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities, and this iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

INSTIT. 3.—OF PUBLIC MEALS.

Lycurgus, being desirous to make a yet more effectual war upon softness and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. ^c That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together of the same common victuals which the law prescribed, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.

By this settlement of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said, that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a † condition of being desired or stolen, or of enriching their possessors ; for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy this opulence, or even to make any show of it, since the poor and the rich ate together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet : because every body present took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company was sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation ; and it was upon this occasion that, in a tumult of the people, a

^c Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 45.

* Five hundred livres French, about L. 20 English.

† Τοις πλεῖτον ἀσυλοῖς, μᾶλλον, δὲ ἀξιοῖς, καὶ ὅπλετον ἀπειογάπτετο.—Plat.

young fellow, named Alexander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner ; for, by the extraordinary kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed young man in a little time become very moderate and wise. The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each, where none could be admitted but with the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished every month a bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal ; and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children ate at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and sprightly raillery, but never intermixed with any thing vulgar or shocking ; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secrecy : as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, “ No ‘‘ thing spoken here must ever go out there.”

^d The most exquisite of all their eatables was what they called their black broth, and the old men preferred it before all that was set upon the table. Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of those meals, was not of the same opinion ; and what was a ragoo to them, was to him very insipid. I do not wonder at it, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting. What seasoning ? replied the tyrant. Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirst ; these are the ingredients, says the cook, with which we season all our food.

^d Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 98.

4. OTHER ORDINANCES.

e When I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws : he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded, that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens : for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immovable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity : and the youth, that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents ; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and fancies, but would have the state intrusted with the general care of their education, in order to have them formed upon constant and uniform principles, which might inspire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

f As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him ; and if they found him well made, strong, and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the * nine thousand portions of land for his inheritance ; if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender, and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthful constitution, they condemned him to perish, and caused the infant to be exposed.

Children were accustomed betimes not to be nice or difficult in their eating ; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone ; not to give themselves up to peevishness

e Plut. vit. Lycurr. p. 47.

f Idem, p. 48.

* I do not comprehend how they could assign to every one of these children one of the nine thousand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same ? Did it never exceed nine thousand ? It is not said in this case, as in the division of the Holy Land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

and ill-humour, to crying and bawling ; g to walk bare-foot that they may be inured to fatigue : to lie hard at night ; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.

^h At the age of seven years they were put into the classes, where they were brought up altogether under the same discipline. * Their education, properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience. The legislature having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists, was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

ⁱ While they were at table, it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions. They would ask them, for example, Who is the honestest man in the town ? What do you think of such or such an action ? The boys were obliged to have a quick and ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both couched in a few words : for they were accustomed betimes to the Laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short : a great deal of sense comprised in few words.

^k As for literature, they only learned as much as was necessary. All the sciences were banished out of their country : their study only tended to know how to obey, to bear hardship and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendent of their education was one of the most honourable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys, masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

^l There was one kind of theft only, and that too more a nominal than a real one, which the boys were allowed, and even ordered to practise. They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat ; and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told that one of them, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered the animal to gnaw

g Xen. de Lac. Rep. p. 667. h Plut. in Lyc. p. 50. i Idem, p. 51.
k Idem, p. 52. l Idem, p. 50. Idem institut. Lacon. p. 237.

† Οὐτε τὴν παιδείαν ἔνεις μαλέτην εὐ πειθεῖσις

into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot, rather than be discovered. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorized by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislator in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with the greater boldness, subtilty, and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already given an account of this matter more at large in another treatise.

^m The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival, celebrated in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, where the children, before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city, ⁿ suffered themselves to be whipped, till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or a sigh: and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives on these cruel occasions. Hence it is, that * Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *Patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man, who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concoxi*.

^p The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and other bodily exercises. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, for which they paid them a certain revenue.

^q Lycurgus would have his citizens enjoy a great deal of leisure: they had large common halls, where the people used to meet to converse together: and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant pas-

^m Man. d'Etud. Vol. III. p. 471.

ⁿ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. n. 34.

^o Ode vii. lib. 1.

^p Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 54.

^q Idem, p. 55.

sion : they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pedarethus having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, “ He was overjoyed there were three “ hundred men in Sparta more honourable and worthy than “ himself.”

^r At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue, and the hatred of vice ; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, public monuments, and inscriptions. It was hard for men brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily create, in a little time, an aversion for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. On the other hand, he would suffer no strangers to remain in the city, who did not come hither to some useful and profitable end, or out of mere curiosity ; being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries ; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of the town against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war : every thing with them tended that way : arms were their only exercise and employment : their life much less hard and austere in the camp, than in the city ; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment, because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline, which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty. ^s With them the first and most inviolable law of war, as Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy’s army might consist of ; never to quit their post ; never to deliver up their arms ; in a word, either to conquer or to die on the spot. ^t This maxim was so important and essential in their opinion, that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately ;

^r Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 56. ^s Herod. I. vii. cap. 104.
Institut. p. 239.

^t Plut. in Lacon.

because they understood, that, in one of his poems, he had said, “ It was better for a man to throw down his arms, “ than to expose himself to be killed.”

* Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield ; and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, “ I brought him into the world for no other “ end.” This humour was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty ; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were dishonoured and disgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions ; but it was reckoned scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage : and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers ; and, when that was done, they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection ; and, to make use of Plutarch’s expression, “ As if God were present with, and “ fought for them.”

* When they had broken and routed their enemy’s forces, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory ; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as honourable to the Spartans ; for their enemies, knowing that all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those that fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.

y When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice, and the form of government he

u Cic. lib. i. Tusc. Quæst. n. 102. Plut. in Vit. Ages. p. 612.

x Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 454. y Idem, p. 57.

* Ἀλλη προσαναδίδεται τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ παρακελευθερίν. Τέττα
(ἐφη) ἡ τὰς ἡ ἐπι τάξι.—Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 241. Some, they that
were slain were brought home upon their shields.

had established, seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as.* Plato says of God, that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony; so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people, that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good, and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; and then, thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphos, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His notion was, that the death of great persons and statesmen should not be barren and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought, that in dying thus he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observation of his institutions, which they had sworn to observe inviolably till his return.

Whilst that I represent Lycurgus's sentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them: and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very un-

* This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe this philosopher had read what Moses says of God, when he created the world: “*Vidit Deus cuneta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.*”—Gen. i. 31.

worthy of approbation. The pretended wise men of the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect notions ; or, to speak more properly, remained in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings,—* That man, placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times, they looked upon man as a criminal, condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence, indeed, he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate ; and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his prison. These notions are beautiful, because they are true ; but the application they made of them was wrong, namely, as they took that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to put themselves to death, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains or troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND UPON THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

I. THINGS COMMENDABLE IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

THERE must needs have been, to judge only by the event, a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus ; since, as long as they were observed in Sparta, which was above five hundred years, it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much, says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta, the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue : or rather, continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules,

* Vetus Pythagoras, injussu imperatoris, id est Dei, de praesidio et statione vitæ decedere.—Cic. de Senect. n. 73.

Cato sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetus enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sape multis ; ne illæ, mediis fidius, vir sapiens, laetus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit ; leges enim vetant : sed, tanquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a Deo evocatus atque emissus, exierit.—Id. i. Tusc. Quast. n. 74.

only with his lion's skin and club, went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants ; so Sparta, with a slip of * parchment and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion ; suppressed tyrannies and unjust authority in cities ; put an end to wars as she thought fit, and appeased insurrections ; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador amongst them, who no sooner appeared, than all the people submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their monarch : so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

1. THE NATURE OF THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.

WE find at the end of Lycurgus's life one single reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus ; with this difference, that they confined themselves wholly to words and theory ; but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and theoretical systems, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together what he found best in every kind of government, and most conducive to the public good ; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings. The council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy ; and the power vested in the people

* This was what the Spartans called a Scytale, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner, that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They writ upon this thong, and when they had writ, they untwisted it, and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and writ upon, wrapt it round that staff in the same manner, and, by that means, found out the connection and the right placing of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read.—*Plut. in Vit. Lyc.*, p. 444.

of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The creation of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those grievous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wisdom, in his institution of the senate, which was equally advantageous both to the king and people; * because by this means the law became the only supreme mistress of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

2. EQUAL DIVISION OF THE LANDS: GOLD AND SILVER BANISHED FROM SPARTA.

THE design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, law-suits, and dissensions, by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a scheme of a commonwealth finely conceived for speculation, but utterly incapable of execution, did not history assure us, that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable parts of Lycurgus's laws; I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore, in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive, that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city to resign all their revenues and estates, in order to level and confound themselves with the poorest of the people; to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of every thing, wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but

* Νόμος ἐπειδὴ κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τὰν ἀρχῶπαν, οὐλα' ἐγκαθαπτοτύραννος ὠραῖον.—Plut. Epist. viii.

we know, that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Agesilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, observes, Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and laws for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate.
^z Soli, said the latter, in speaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum septingintos jam annos amplius unus moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* I believe, that though in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished, yet, however, all historians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable himself of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruits of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institution of the legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded, and made way for avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominions. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as ^a Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to curb and restrain the ambition of his citizens; to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any farther. Indeed, the government which he established was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raising her to a dominion over other cities.

^b The design, then, of Lycurgus, was not to make the Spartans conquerors. To remove such thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbade them, though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle in maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at

^z Pro Flac. num. lxiii.
Laced. p. 239.

^a Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.

^b Plut. in Moribus

sea, that they might be able to keep that formidable enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived, that these maritime, remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

^c When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances, it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers : but it was only that under the shadow of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded, that no city or state, any more than a single person, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness, but from virtue only. ^d Men of a depraved state, says Plutarch further on the same subject, who think nothing so desirable as riches, and a large extent of dominion, may give preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence ; but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no further views, than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace ; and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauty consists, are of infinite use towards the giving us true notions of things, and making us understand wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state, that is really happy ; as also to correct those false ideas we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

3. THE EXCELLENT EDUCATION OF THEIR YOUTH.

THE long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful : but the means he made use of to succeed therein, are no less worthy of admiration. The

^c Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 59.

^d Idem, et in Vit. Agesil. p. 614.

principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline : for, as Plutarch observes, the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them suck in, almost with their mother's milk, an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above five hundred years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a * strong and good dye, that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition, as to their excellent education : ^e *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum natura corroborata, verum etiam disciplina putatur.* All this shews of what importance it is to a state, to take care that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

^f The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Aristotle repeats in express terms, was, that as children belong to the state, their education ought to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only considered therein. It was for this reason he desired they should be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue, by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold ; and, what is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to procure their health, and make their constitutions the more vigorous and robust, able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war ; the thing for which they were all designed from their cradles.

4. OBEDIENCE.

BUT the most excellent thing in the Spartan education, was its teaching young people so perfectly well how to obey. It is from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a

* Ωσπερ βαφῆς ἀργάται καὶ ισχυρῶς παταγαπίνουσι.—Plut. Ep. iii.
e Orat. pro Flac. n. 68. f Polyb. l. viii. Politic.

* magnificent epithet, which denotes, that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them pliant and submissive to laws, in the same manner as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and managed while they are young. For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, † that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command, and how to obey.

5. RESPECT TOWARDS THE AGED.

ONE of the lessons oftenest and most strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to bear a great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting them, by making way for them, and giving them place in the streets, ^g by rising up to shew them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission. By these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he came; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into a theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and the gentlemen of their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them. Lysander, therefore, had reason to say, that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta; and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

II. THINGS BLAMEABLE IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

IN order to perceive the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we should only compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into an exact examination of the particulars, wherein the laws and institutions of

^g Plut. in Lacon. Institut. p. 237.

* Δαμαστίβορος, that is to say, Tamer of men.

† Μαθησομένος τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλος, ἀρχεῖαι καὶ αρχεῖν.

‡ Lysandrum Lacedemonium dicere aiunt solitum,—Lacedemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis.—Cic. de Sen. n. 63. Ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ κάλλιστα γηγένεται.—Plut. in Mor. p. 795.

Lycurgus are faulty ; I shall content myself with making some slight reflections only, which probably may have already occurred to the reader in the perusal of those ordinances, among which there are some that he will be justly offended with on the first reading.

1. THE CHOICE MADE OF THE CHILDREN THAT WERE EITHER TO BE BROUGHT UP OR EXPOSED.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, as which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish,—who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be born with a constitution that appeared too weak to undergo the fatigues and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robust and vigorous complexion? Or suppose it were so, can a man no way serve his country but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? ^h *Omnino illud honestum quod ex animo excelso magnificoque querimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.* Did Lycurgus himself render less service, or do less honour to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean a figure in his person, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, as little as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But, what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power over the lives of men, save he from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renovation of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, universally condemns all those among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

^h Cicer. l. i. de Offic. n. 79.—Idem, n. 76.

2. THEIR CARE CONFINED ONLY TO THE BODY.

THE great defect in Lycurgus's laws, as Plato and Aristotle have observed, is, that they only tended to form a warlike and martial people. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon the means of strengthening the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other * advantages, have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary commerce of life agreeable? Hence it came to pass, that there was something of a roughness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity; a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

3. THEIR BARBAROUS CRUELTY TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN.

IT was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by several severe and laborious exercises to † bring the body into subjection to reason, whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their severities so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers, to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, and even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern?

4. THE MOTHERS' INHUMANITY.

SOME people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain

* Omnes artes quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet.—Cic. Orat. pro Arch.

† Exercendum corpus, et ita afficiendum est, ut obelire consilio rationique possit in exsequendis negotiis et labore tolerando.—Lib. i. de Offic. n. 79.

in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part, I should think it much better, that nature should shew herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his son was killed, seemed to be much wiser by his answer : " Let us at present think," said he, " how to conquer the " enemy ; to-morrow I will mourn for my son."

5. THEIR EXCESSIVE LEISURE.

Nor can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending so much of their time in idleness and inaction, and the following no other business than that of war. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves, and strangers that lived amongst them ; and put nothing into the hands of the citizens, but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves, that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to such a degree, as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditions and riots among them ; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour ? This is an inconvenience still but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their wrong education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in the most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and what would derogate from their gentility. They seldom know how to handle any thing but their swords. As for the sciences, they take but a very small tincture of them, just so much as they cannot well be without ; and many of them have not the least knowledge of them in the world, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder, then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits and frivolous discourse, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts of understanding !

6. THEIR CRUELTY TOWARDS THE HELOTS.

LYCURGUS would be utterly inexcuseable, if he gave occa-

sion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in this republic. These Helots were the slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but also to treat them with the utmost barbarity, as thinking themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatsoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by ⁱ Thucydides, two thousand of these slaves disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends, this barbarous custom was not practised till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

7. MODESTY AND DECENCY ENTIRELY NEGLECTED.

BUT that wherein Lycurgus appears to be most culpable, and what best shews the prodigious enormities and gross darkness the Pagans were plunged in, is the little regard he shewed for modesty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When we compare these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts, what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion !

Nor will it give us a less advantageous notion of the pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's institutions with the laws of the gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful thing, that the whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich ; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted these laws, had the sword in his hand ; whereas the Christian legislator says but a word, “ Blessed are the poor in spirit,” and thousands of the faithful through all succeeding generations renounce their goods, sell

ⁱ Lib. iv.

their lands and estates, and leave all, to follow Jesus Christ, their Master, in poverty and want.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. THE LAWS OF SOLON. THE HISTORY OF THAT REPUBLIC, FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST.

I HAVE already observed, that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they were such as had little more than the name; for their whole power, being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. * Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to die for the public good, his sons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the succession. The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommoded them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens, at the very same time that the Jews were weary of their theocracy, that is, having the true God for their king, and would absolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he enumerates the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of people to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of Archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still, in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one: and this they did with a view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independency, very tender and apt to be

* Codrus was contemporary with Saul.

offended at any thing that seemed to break in upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. From hence arose continual factions and quarrels; there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions she had to struggle with.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned at length, that true liberty consists in a dependence upon justice and reason. This happy subjection could not be established, but by a legislator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and integrity, for that employment.^k It does not appear that Greece had, before his time, any written laws. The first of that kind, then, were of his publishing; the rigour of which, anticipating as it were the Stoical doctrine, was so great, that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written, says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the same fate as usually attends all violent things. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people; all these motives, I say, concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws; which, by that means, in process of time, became as it were abrogated through disuse: and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders, made them have recourse to fresh precautions; for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order, therefore, to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of the law, they cast their eyes upon one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean ^l Solon, whose singular qualities, and especially his great meekness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.

His main application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call policy, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary

^k A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 624.

l A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604.

merit gave him one of the first ranks among the seven sages of Greece, who rendered the age we are speaking of so illustrious. ^m These sages often paid visits one to another. One day that Solon went to Miletos to see Thales, the first thing he said to Thales was, that he wondered why he had never desired to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then : but a few days after he contrived, that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he was just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon, hearing the stranger say this, asked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came away. The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whom all the town accompanied to the grave ; because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent. Alas ! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied ! But pray, what is the gentleman's name ? I heard his name, replied the stranger, but I have forgot it. I only remember that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice. Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to this inquisitive father, who was so justly alarmed. Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon ? The very same, replied the stranger. Solon at these words rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and, expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile, Comfort yourself, my friend ; all that has been told you is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married : it is because I do not care to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy ; but, upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

^m Plut. de Vit. Lycurg. p. 81. 82.

ⁿ Athens, after some time of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties, as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains were fond of popular government; those in the low-lands, were for an oligarchy; and those who dwelt on the sea-coasts, were for having a mixed government, compounded of these two forms blended together; and they hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party, which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.

In this extreme danger, all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they solicited him very much to take the matter in hand, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission: however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator with the unanimous consent of all parties; the rich liking him, as he was rich; and the poor, because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favourable change consistent with the laws, were not unwilling the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and would hearken to no other scheme than that of settling a form of government in his country, that should be founded upon the basis of a just and reasonable

ⁿ Plut. in Solon. p. 85. 86.

liberty.. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils, which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes, than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with by the method of argument and reason, or bring them into by the weight of his authority; wisely mixing, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians were the best: "Yes," said he, "the best they were capable of receiving."

The soul of popular estates is equality. But, for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon durst not propose any equality of lands and wealth ; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would have resembled a paternal inheritance, divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

^o This affair drew Solon into a troublesome scrape, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts, he foresaw, that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenor of it, by introducing it with a specious preamble, which set forth a great many very plausible pretexts, and gave colours of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends, whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed great sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchasing of lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When this appeared, the general indignation, that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in effect he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him ought to be so

^o Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapines, that are committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him; because it is his business, and one of the principal designs of his being put into such a trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties; it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's credit at Athens fell very short of that credit and power which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards, this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws that had been made by Draco, except those against murder. The reason of his doing this, was the excessive rigour of these laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders: so that they who were convicted of sloth or idleness, or they that only had stolen a few herbs, or a little fruit out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed all the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the differences of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those that were found to have five hundred measures per annum, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had three hundred were placed in the second; and those that had but two hundred made up the third.

All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments. But, in order to make them amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgements of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous,

p Plut. in Solon. p. 83.

and made them masters of all the affairs of the city ; for most of the law-suits and differences returned to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgements of the magistrates ; and in the assemblies of the people, the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

The Areopagus, so called from the * place where its assemblies were held, had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendence over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws, of which he was the guardian, to be observed and put into execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and justice were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first that thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of Archon. ^q Nothing was so august as this senate ; and its reputation for judgement and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here but truth only ; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark ; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent as much as possible the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe ; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the general assembly of the people ; to the judgement of which the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject Anacharsis, whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the middle of Scythia, said one day to Solon, “ I wonder you should empower the wise men only “ to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools.”

^q Val. Max. I. viii. c. 1. Lucian in Hermot. p. 595. Quintil. I. vi. c. 1.

* This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, The Hill of Mars ; because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune.

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis, astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and injustice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner : “ Give me leave to tell you, that your writings are just like spiders webs ; the weak and small flies may be entangled and caught in them, but the rich and powerful will break through them and despise them.”

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniences that attend a democracy or popular government ; but having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people’s hands ; and that, if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another, by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus, and the council of four hundred ; judging that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would be kept within due bounds, and enjoy more tranquillity.

I shall only mention some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgement of the rest. ^r In the first place, every particular person was authorised to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted ; so that the first comer might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.

The design of this wise legislator by this ordinance, was to accustom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one another’s sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

^s By another law, those persons that, in public differences and dissensions, did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Solon had learned from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually the most backward to expose themselves to the incon-

^r Plut. in Solon, p. 88.

^s Idem, p. 89.

veniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in society; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so active and vigilant in the defence of it, as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the just party, being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it, by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well-affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare for the just party at the very beginning of seditions, and to animate the spirits and courage of the best citizens, by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, that should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure recourse against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

^t Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters, and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband, than three suits of clothes, and some few household-goods of little value; for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of interest, but desired that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless, to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring, by that means, friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where he pleased. This law, however, did not authorise indifferently all sorts of donations; it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely, and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated with drinks or charms, or perverted

^t Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman ; for this wise lawgiver was justly persuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understandings.

^u Another regulation he made, was to lessen the rewards of the victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games, and to fix them at a certain value, viz. a hundred drachms, which make about fifty livres, for the first sort; and five hundred drachms, or two hundred and fifty livres, for the second. He thought it a shameful thing, that athletæ and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country ; it being very just and reasonable, that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to get his livelihood : and of chastising and punishing all those who led an idle life. Besides the fore-mentioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons, still more important.

1. Solon considered, that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to get their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money ; and that the necessity of subsisting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanours, rapines, knaveries, and frauds ; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth ; and such a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in revolutions of the state, by which alone they

^u Plut. in Solon. p. 91. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons, that, in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared, that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation: all children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty: for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony in such a manner, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having then satisfied his own desires, and had the end he proposed to himself, he had no proper right over the persons he begot, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed an indelible infamy and reproach.

^z It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead; because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare those that are no more, and good policy should hinder hatreds from becoming immortal.

It was also forbidden to affront, or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the theatres during the time of representation: for to be no where able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition; as to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the mere force of human nature, and a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes, that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered, * “ That to make laws against, and ordain punishments for, a crime that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it.” I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles or rules to go by.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for

x Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

* Sapienter fecisse dicitur, cum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat: ne, non tam prohibere, quam admonere, videretur.—Pro Ros. Amer. n. 70.

the term of an hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom; as also to rid himself of the trouble and importunity of those who came to consult him about the sense and meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and odium of others; for, as he said himself, in great undertakings, it is hard, if not impossible, to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia to visit king Crœsus, and into several other countries. ^y At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble; the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties: Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low-lands; Megacles, son of Alcmeon, was the leader of the inhabitants on the sea-coast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the handicraftsmen and labourers who lived by their industry, and whose chief spleen was against the rich: of these three leaders, the two last were the most powerful and considerable.

^z Megacles was the son of that Alcmeon, whom Crœsus had extremely enriched for a particular service he had done him. He had likewise married a lady who had brought him an immense portion; her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was at this time the richest and most opulent prince in Greece. In order to be able to chuse a worthy son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character, from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house; for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and there came from different parts to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of questions and subjects. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by using some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Clisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away loaded with civilities and presents. This was the Megacles of whom we are speaking.

^y A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559. Plut. in Solon. p. 94.
^z Herod. l. vi. c. 125.—131.

^a Pisistratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the * poor ; wise and moderate towards his enemies ; a most artful and accomplished dissembler ; and one who had all appearances of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous ; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people, with all his artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences ; however, he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods, to bring him back to his duty.

^b It was at this time † Thespis began to change the Greecian tragedy ; I say change, because it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Thespis, and asked him, “ Why he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so “ many people ? ” Thespis made answer, “ That there was “ no harm in lies of that sort, and in poetical fictions, which “ were only made for diversion.” “ No,” replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground ; “ but “ if we suffer and approve of lying for our diversion, it will “ quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all “ our business and affairs.”

^c In the mean time, Pisistratus still pushed on his point ; and, in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as well as he could expect.

^d He gave himself several wounds ; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he raised and inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his ene-

^a Plut. in Solon. p. 95. ^b Ibid. ^c Herod. l. i. c. 59.—64.

^d Plut. in Solon. p. 95. 96.

* We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms ; for in these times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen that died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging.—Orat. Areop. p. 369.

† Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis ; but it was only a chorus of persons that sung, and said opprobrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus, by the addition of a personage or character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person. And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.

mies had treated him at that rate, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.

An assembly of the people was immediately convened, and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel. All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked, what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution? "It is," said he, "my old age." He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near; though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought his conquest imperfect till he had gained Solon; and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to engage an old man, he caressed him accordingly; omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon him, and shewed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for his laws, which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon, seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation, or to depose him by force, thought it a point of prudence, not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him; and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country two years complete; for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens under the archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad, and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, whose heads were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens; where he was soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference that arose upon occasion of this

match having embroiled them afresh, the Alcmæonidæ had the worst of it, and were obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his * eloquence, which even in Tully's judgement was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of discourse, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers; and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason, the character of Pisistratus was thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, † "We do not yet know, whether the des-
" tiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live
" under a Pisistratus."

This tyrant, indeed, if we are to call him so, always shewed himself very popular and moderate, ^e and had such a command of his temper, as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. ^f It is said he was the first who opened a public library in Athens, which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, ^g when he took that city. But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, restored it to Athens. ^h Cicero thinks also, it was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who disposed the books in the order we now find them, whereas before they were confused, and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at their feasts, called Panathenæa. ⁱ Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.

^k Pisistratus died in tranquillity, and transmitted to his

e Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. f Athen. l. xii. p. 532. g Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 17. h Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 137. i In Hipparch. p. 228.
k Arist. lib. v. de Rep. c. 12.

* Pisistratus dicendo tantum valuisse dicitur, ut ei Athenienses regium imperium oratione capti permetterent.—Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

Quis doctior iisdem temporibus, aut cuius eloquentia literis instruetior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati?—Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 137.

+ Incertum est Phalarimne, an Pisistratum, sit imitaturus.—Ad Attic. l. vii. Ep. xix.

sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.

¹ His sons were Hippias and Hipparchus. Thucydides adds a third, whom he calls Thessalus. They seemed to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus^m what we have said concerning the poems of Homer, adds, that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him. He likewise entertained at his house Simonides, another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love for virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and for sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country-people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, statues of stone, called Mercuries, with grave sentences carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose, that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. ⁿ But Thucydides shews, that Hippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.

However it was, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years duration: it ended in the following manner.

^o Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship. Hipparchus, angry at the first for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, to revenge himself upon his sister, put a public affront upon her, by obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging, that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and his friend still more, being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, took from that moment a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged

¹ A. M. 3478.—Ant. J. C. 526.
p. 225. ^m In Hip. p. 228. 229.

ⁿ Lib.

^o Thucyd. l. vi. p. 447.—450.

would be very favourable for their purpose : this was the feast of the Panathenæa, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they only admitted a very small number of the citizens into their secret ; conceiving that, upon the first motion, all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the Ceramium, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends followed him thither, and coming near him, they saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hippias ; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him ; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain, and Hippias found means to dispel the storm.

After this affair he observed no measures, and reigned like a true tyrant, putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, and to secure a safe retreat for himself in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and, to that end, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

In the mean time, the Alemæonidæ, who, from the beginning of the revolution, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not, however, lose courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, that is, the heads of the grand, or general council of Greece, superintendants for rebuilding the temple of Delphos, for the sum of three hundred talents, or nine hundred thousand livres *. As they were very generous in their natures, and besides had their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole frontispiece of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expence ; whereas, by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

^p Herod. l. v. c. 62.—96.

* About L. 43,000 Sterling.

The liberality of the Alcmaeonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphos a pure effect of religion. Policy was the chief motive. They hoped, by this means, to acquire great credit and influence in the temple, which happened according to their expectation. The money which they had plentifully poured into the hands of the priestess, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who, for the future, becoming their echo, faithfully repeated the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often, therefore, as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his own affairs, or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratides, though they were under the strongest engagements of friendship and hospitality with them; herein preferring the will * of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding, a little time after, they made a second, which seemed to promise no better an issue than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated, that he should depart out of Attica in five days time. ^q Accordingly, he actually retired within the time limited; and settled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.

^r Pliny observes, that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal re-

^q A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

^r Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

* Τά γάρ τοι Θεος πείσθετερα ἐποίουντο ή τοτὲν ἀνδεῖν.

verence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that never had been rendered to any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood. ^s Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes before had carried thither from Athens. ^t This city, at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude solely to the authors of her liberty; but extended it even to a woman, who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtesan, named Leona, who, by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; gloriously shewing the world, that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost: and to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtesan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumstance, by representing her in the statue, which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.

^u Plutarch, in the life of Aristides, relates a thing which does great honour to the Athenians, and which shews to what a pitch they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and marrying her to one of the most rich and considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

^s Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 8.

^t Plin. l. vii. c. 23. et l. xxxiv. c. 9.

^u Page 235.

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her courage. During the reigns of her tyrants she had acted with indolence and inactivity, as knowing what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of a quite different kind, because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcmaeonides, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest credit and power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, seeing himself inferior in credit to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with seven hundred families of his adherents. But they soon returned, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting also, that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippias, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retired. They then communicated their design to the deputies of their allies, whose assistance and concurrence they proposed to use, in order to render their enterprise more successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment, that the Lacedæmonians, who were themselves avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere; describing at the same time, in a lively manner, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, as his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing; and had no other effect, but to

discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured, by all manner of means, to engage in a war against Athens; representing to him, that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians, that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer, but by a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the following volumes.

ARTICLE IX.

ILLUSTRIOS MEN, WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I BEGIN with the poets, because the most ancient. Homer, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece, that contend for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title.

* Herodotus tells us, that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time, that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy; for Herodotus flourished seven hundred and forty years after that expedition.

Some authors have pretended, that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Valleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. * “If any man,” says he, “believes ‘that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and ‘even have lost all his senses.’” Indeed, according to the observation of y Cicero, Homer’s works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader; and he seems to have been intent upon

x Lib. ii. c. 53. A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844.

y Tuscul. Quest. l. v. n. 144.

* Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est.—Paterc. l. i. c. 5.

introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords, into his writings, and to make them, in a manner, pass in review before his readers.

* What is most astonishing in this poet is, that having applied himself the first, at least of those that are known, to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should however soar so high, and with such rapidity, at the first flight as it were, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.

The kind of poetry we are speaking of, is the epic poem, so called from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this poem must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the Iliad and the Odyssey: the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilion, or Troy; and that of the second is, the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable, that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be formed upon: *y Fons ingeniorum Homerus.*

All the greatest men, and the most exalted geniuses, that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years, in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those, whose writings we are forced still to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these †, says Madam Dacier, acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the

y Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

* Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum: qui, magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, solus appellari Poeta meruit. In quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur; neque post illum, qui imitari eum possit, inventus est; neque quemquam alium, cuius operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum, præter Homerum et Archilochum reperiemus.—Val. Patrc. l. i. c. 5.

† In Homer's Life, which is prefixed to the translation of the Iliad.

model for all succeeding poets to form their taste and judgement upon. After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they never so great, as reasonably to presume, that his decisions should prevail against such an universal concurrence of judgement in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters ?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so constant, and so universal, entirely justify Alexander the Great's favourable judgement of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of human wit ; ^a *pretiosissimum humani animi opus.*

^a Quintilian, after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words : *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem laetus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis.* In great things, what a sublimity of expression ! and in little, what a justness and propriety ! diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.

HESIOD. The most common opinion is, that he was contemporary with Homer. It is said, that he was born at Cumæ, a town in Æolia, but that he was brought up at Ascra, a little town in Bœotia, which has since passed for his native country. Thus Virgil ^b calls him, the old man of Ascra. We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems of his, all in hexameter verse ; which are, 1st, "The Works and Days;" 2^{dly}, "The Theogony;" or, the Genealogy of the gods; 3^{dly}, "The Shield of Her-
"cules;" of which last, some doubt whether it was wrote by Hesiod.

1. In the first of these poems, entitled, "The Works and Days," Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a prudent observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short but lively description of two sorts of disputes ; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords, and wars ; and the other, infinitely useful and beneficial to man, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then makes an admirable description of the four different ages of the world ;

^a Plin. I. xvii. c. 29.

^a Quint. I. x. c. 1.

^b Eclog. vi. v. 70.

the golden, the silver, and the iron age. The persons who lived in the golden age, are those whom Jupiter, after their death, turned into so many Genii * or spirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commission to go up and down the earth, invisible to the sight of men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his Georgics, as he himself acknowledges in this verse :

c Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

" And sing the Ascræan verse to Roman swains."

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shews in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of wealth and plenty. It is much to be deplored, that, in after ages, men departed from a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence and good manners. Avarice and luxury have entirely banished it the world. d *Nimirum alii subierit ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantam artes coluntur.*

2. "The Theogony" of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose, that these poets were the inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected, and transmitted to posterity, the traces of the religion which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. "The shield of Hercules" is a separate fragment of a poem, wherein, it is pretended, Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity; and it bears that title, because it contains, among other things, a long description of the shield of Hercules, concerning whom the same poem relates a particular adventure.

This poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. e *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

f ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the Iambic verse, lived in the time of Candaules,

c Geor. I. ii. v. 176.

d Plin. in Proem. I. xiv.

e Lib. i. c. 5.

f A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 721.

* Δαιμόνες.

king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Valleius Paterculus, that he carried at once a kind of poetry, which he invented, to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The Iambic verse, such as it was invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for the vehement and energetic style: accordingly we see, that Horace, speaking of this poet, says, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his Iambics, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance.

g Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.

And Quintilian * says, he had an uncommon force of expression; was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are short, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous. The longest † of his poems were said to be the best. The world have passed the same judgement upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of his friend Atticus's letters.

h The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious; witness those he wrote against Lycambus, his father-in-law, which drove him into despair. For this double ‡ reason, his poetry, how excellent soever it was reckoned in other respects, was banished out of Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and manners of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding. We have only some very short fragments that remain of this poet. Such a niceness in a heathen people, in regard to the quality of the books which they thought young people should be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and justly reproaches many Christians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Ephesus, and signalized his wit some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of

g Art. Poet. v. 79.

h Hor. Ephod. Od. vi. et Epist. xix. l. i.

* Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validæ tum breves vibrantesque sententiae, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum.—Quin. l. x. c. 1.

† Ut Aristophani Archilochi iambibus, sic epistola longissima quæque optima vindetur.—Cic. Epist. xi. l. 16. ad Atticum.

‡ Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari jusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret, quam ingenii prodesset. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisam obscenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio multarunt.—Val. Pat. l. vi. c. 3.

poetry, and with the same force and vehemence. He was * ugly, little, lean, and slender. Two celebrated sculptors and brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, (some call the latter Anthermus), diverted themselves at his expence, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire, that they hanged themselves out of mortification : others say, they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this ! Horace † joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous. In the Anthologia ⁱ there are three or four epigrams, which describe Hipponax as terrible, even after death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, Φευγε τὸν χαλαζεπῆν τάφον τὸν φριατόν. *Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*

It is thought he invented the Soazon verse, in which the Spondee is used instead of the Iambus, in the sixth foot of the verse that bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera, a town in Sicily, and excelled in Lyric poetry, as did those other poets we are going to speak of. Lyric poetry is that, the verses of which, digested into odes and stanzas, were sung to the lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished between the 37th and 47th Olympiad. ^k Pausanias, after many other fables, relates, that Stesichorus, having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helena, did not recover it till he had retracted his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first ; which latter kind of ode is since called Palinodia. Quintilian ‡ says, that he sung of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or, as some will have

ⁱ Anthol. l. iii. ^k Paus. in Lacon. p. 200.

* Hipponacti notabilis vultus fœditas erat : quamobrem imaginem ejus lascivia jocorum ⁱⁱ proposuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impulsse : quod falsum est.—Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

†—————In malos asperrimus

Parata tollo cornua :

Qualis Lyambæ spretus infido gener,

Aut acer hostis Bupalo.—Ephod. vi.

‡ Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces, et epicis carminis onere lyra sustinentem.—Lib. x. c. 1.

it, of Sardis in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he perpetually inveighed in his verses.¹ It is said of him, that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms and ran away. * Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself. Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. † Quintilian says, that the style of Alcæus was close, magnificent, and accurate; and to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.

SIMONIDES. This poet was of the island of Ceos, in the Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He ‡ excelled principally in funeral elegy. The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere ||. At twenty-four years of age, he disputed for and carried the prize of poetry.

^m The answer he gave a prince who asked him what God was, is much celebrated. That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuse. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king, surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it. It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: *Quia quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.* The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty, which § no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.

¹ Herod. l. v. c. 95.

^m Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15.

* Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam

Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.—HOR. Od. vii. l. 1.

† In eloquendo brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero similis.

‡ Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, jocis

Cœ retraces munera næniæ.—HORAT.

Mæstius lacrymis Simonideis.—CATAL.

|| Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres.

§ Certe hoc est Deus, quod et cum dicitur, non potest dici: cum aestimatur, non potest aestimari; cum comparatur, non potest comparari; cum definitur, ipsa definitione crescit.—S. Aug. serm. de temp. cix.

Nobis ad intellectum pectus augustum est. Et ideo sic (Deum) digne aestimamus, dum inestimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit.—Minutus Felix.

ⁿ After having travelled to many cities of Asia, and amassed considerable wealth, by celebrating the praises of those in his verses who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what he could. Simonides took no care of any thing; and when he was asked the reason for it, he replied, “ I carry all I have about me :” *Mecum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned by the weight of the things they attempted to save, and those who got to shore were robbed by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomena, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of the citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was excessively pleased, and thought it an honour to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessaries, whilst the rest were obliged to beg through the city. The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them, in regard to his effects: *Dixi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta ; vos quod rapuistis, perit.*

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price of them. ^o In Aristotle we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the chariot races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet, not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended, that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule, and the poem was made. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty :

Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and an horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them at first only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them “ illustrious foals of rapid steed :” Χαιρετάς αελλοπόδαν θύτατρες λιππων.

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcaeus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of

ⁿ Phædr. l. iv.

^o Rhet. l. iii. c. 2.

which there are but two remaining; which are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a further proof of her merit, she was called the tenth Muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It were to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius, and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

P ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 27th Olympiad. Anacreon spent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that happy tyrant of Samos; and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council. ^q Plato tells us, that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, intreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be esteemed and relished as they deserved. It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems; nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIS. He was the first inventor of Tragedy. I defer speaking of him till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF GREECE.

THESE men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in the present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, the Milesian. If Cicero * is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men. It was he that laid the first foundations of philosophy in Greece, and founded the sect called the Ionic sect; because he, the founder of it, was born in the country of Ionia.

^r He held water to be the first principle of all things; and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were

p Herod. l. iii. c. 121.
Deor. n. 25.

q In Hippar. p. 228. 229.

r Lib. i. de Nat.

* Princeps Thales, unus e septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt.
—Lib. iv. Acad. Quest. n. 118.

formed by water. The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, seeing the Nile to be the cause of the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy ; he had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigness of the sun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had discovered that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th part of the sun's body, and consequently, that the solid body of the sun was above 700 times bigger than the solid body of the moon. This computation is very far from being true, as the sun's solidity exceeds not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know, that in all these matters, and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

^s When Thales travelled into Egypt, he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by observing the time when the shadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.

^t To shew that philosophers were not so destitute of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business, as some people imagined, and that they would be as successful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves that way, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletos, before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature, had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in effect, and he made a considerable profit of his bargain.

He used to thank the gods for three things ; that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast ; a man, and not a woman ; a Greek, and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her it was then too soon : and after several years were elapsed, he told her it was then too late.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch. Ha ! says

^s Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

^t Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 112.

to him a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

^u He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the first year of the 58th Olympiad; consequently he lived to be above ninety years of age.

SOLON. His life has been already related at length.

CHILO. He was a Lacedæmonian; very little is related of him. Æsop asking him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? “In humbling those,” says he, “that exalt themselves, and exalting those that abase themselves.”

He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son win the prize at boxing, at the Olympic games. He said when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life,—an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher: unless it was once, by having made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgement in favour of a friend; in which action he did not know whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he drove the tyrants who had usurped the government out of that island.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy’s general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him, which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus’s hands, who was so far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and shewed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority, and retired. * He used to say, that the proof of a good government was, to engage the subjects, not to be afraid *of* their prince, but to be afraid *for* him. It was a maxim with him, that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

Bias. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattus, king of Lydia, by stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. This city was hard pressed with famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and the people. Bias, guessing their errand, ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king of the great plenty of provision they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege. † One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.

CLEOBULUS. We know as little of this wise man, as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes, or, as some will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

PERIANDER. He was numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he wrote to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletos, to know what measures he should take with his new-acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where, in walking along, he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most eminent of the Co-

* Εἰ τές ὑπῆρχες ὁ ἄρχων ταρχασκευάτεις φοβεῖται μὴ ειπών, ἀλλ' ἵπει εἰπεῖν.—Plut. in Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 151.

† "Ο, τι ἦν ἀγαθὸν πείστης, εἰς θεοὺς ἀγαθίην.

rinthian citizens. ^x But if we may believe Plutarch, Periander did not relish so cruel an advice.

^y He wrote circular letters to all the wise men, inviting them to pass some time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Crœsus. Princes, in those days, thought themselves much honoured, when they could have such guests in their houses. ^z Plutarch describes an entertainment which Periander gave these illustrious guests, and observes at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and humour of the persons entertained, did him much more honour than the greatest magnificence could have done. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, and sometimes pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question, Which is the most perfect popular government? That, answered Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body: That, says Bias, where the law has no superior: That, says Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor: That, says Anacharsis, where virtue is honoured, and vice detested: Says Pittacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked: Says Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than punishment: Says Chilo, where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority than the orators. From all these opinions, Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.

Whilst these wise men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis, king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was, to consult him how he should answer a proposal made to him by the king of Ethiopia, of his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions; but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and puzzling questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer, on condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea; for the busi-

^x In Conv. Sept. Sap. ^y Diog. Laert. in Vit. Periand. ^z In Conv. Sept. Sap

ness was only to drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, upon subjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics not unworthy of the muses. ^a Solon, however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us what judgement we ought to form of these pretended wise men of the Pagan world.

Instead of some of the wise men which I have mentioned, some people have substituted others; as Anacharsis, for example, Myso, Epimenedes, Perecydes. The first of these is most known in story.

ANARCHARSIS. Long before Solon's time, the Scythian Nomades were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality, temperance, and justice. ^b Homer calls them a very just nation. Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once in company with Anacharsis, reproached him with his country: My country, you think, replied Anacharsis, is no great honour to me; and you, Sir, in my opinion, are no great honour to your country. His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He wrote a treatise in verse upon the military art, and composed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He used to make visits to Solon. It was in a conversation with him, that he compared his laws to cobwebs, which only entangled little flies, while wasps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Croesus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. "I have no occasion for your gold," said the Scythian in his answer; "I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue." However, Anacharsis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

^c We have already observed, that Æsop was much sur-

^a Plut. in Solon. p. 79.
Cony. Sept. Sep. p. 155.

^b Iliad. lib. xi. ver. 6.

^c Plut. in

prised and dissatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Crœsus; because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher would have had reason to admire. "Certainly," says Anacharsis to Æsop on that occasion, "you have forgot your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, for her highest virtue, could only shew her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours: the fox's skin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtilties and stratagems of infinite value. This very image," continued the Scythian, "shews me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside, whilst you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and consequently properly his."

This would be a proper place for an epitome of the life and sentiments of Pythagoras, who flourished in the time of which I have been speaking. But this I defer till I come to another volume, wherein I design to join a great many philosophers together, in order to give the reader the better opportunity of comparing their respective doctrines and tenets.

Æsop. I join Æsop with the wise men of Greece, not only because he was often amongst them *, but because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. As to his mind, he had abundance of wit; but with regard to his body, he was hunch-backed, little, crooked, deformed, and withal of a very uncomely countenance; having scarce the figure of a man; and, for a very considerable time, almost without the use of speech. As to his condition of life, he was a slave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his hands, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he had sent him to labour in the fields; whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove so disagreeable an object out of his sight.

* *Æsopus ille e Phrygia fabulator, haud immerito sapiens existimatus est; cum quæ utilia monitu suasque erant, non severe, non imperiose præcepit et eensuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apolos commentus res salubriter ac prospicenter animadversas, in mentes animosque hominum, cum audiendi quadam illecebra induit.*—*Aul. Gel. Noct. Art. lib. ii. cap. 29.*

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the sprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master, designing to treat some of his friends, ordered Æsop to provide the best things he could find in the market. Æsop thereupon made a large provision of tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second course, the last service, and all the made dishes, were tongues. Did I not order you, says Xanthus in a violent passion, to buy the best victuals the market afforded?—And have I not obeyed your orders? says Æsop. Is there any thing better than tongues? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the organ of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered: with that men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies; it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods.—Well, then, replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worst things you can find. This same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment. Æsop, the next day, provided nothing but the very same dishes; telling his master, that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. It is, says he, the instrument of all strife and contention, the fomenter of law-suits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, calumny, and blasphemy.

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the first uses he made of it was to go to Croesus, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long desirous to see him. The strange deformity of Æsop's person shocked the king at first, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon discovered itself through the coarse veil that covered it; and Croesus found, as Æsop said on another occasion, that we ought not to consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

^d He made several voyages into Greece, either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of Croesus. Being at Athens some small time after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty, and abolished the popular government, and observing that

d Phœdr. l. i. fab. 2.

the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs, who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of Æsop, such as we have them, are all his, at least in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to Planudius, who wrote his life, and lived in the 14th century.

Æsop is taken for the author and inventor of this simple and natural manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables; in which manner Phædrus speaks of him :

Æsopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polvi versibus senariis.

But the * glory of this invention is really the poet Hesiod's; an invention which does not seem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. ^e Plato tells us, that Socrates, a little before he died, turned some of Æsop's fables into verse; ^f and Plato himself earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in them betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, and agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent disguise, in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator, certainly designing the prospect of nature for the instruction of mankind, endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations, and properties, to serve as so many pictures in little to man, of the several duties incumbent upon him, and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendship in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness, and cruelty, in the wolf, the lion, and the tyger; and so of the other species of animals; and all this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man, if he

^e Plut. in Phædr. p. 60.

^f Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 378.

* Illæ quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiamsi originem non ab Æsopo accepérunt, (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus), nomine tamen Æsopi maxime celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum et imperatorum: qui et simplicius quæ dicta sunt audiunt, et capti voluptate, facile iis quibus delectantur consentiunt.— Quintil. l. v. c. 12.

should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming, or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

This is a dumb language, which all nations understand; it is a sentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about him. Æsop was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold of and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men's attention to this sort of genuine and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of society, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament, but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they were more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diffused, but at the same time have a simplicity and elegance, that very much resembles the Attic spirit and style, in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Greeks. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity; has enlivened his fables with a sprightly and original turn of thought and expression peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive why * Seneca lays down as a fact, that the Romans, to his time, had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

g Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death. He went to Delphos with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer, in the name of Crœsus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a † considerable sum. A quarrel which arose between him and the people of Delphos, occasioned

g De sera numinis vindicta, p. 556. 557.

* Non audeo te usque eo producere, ut fabellas quoque Æsopeos logos, INTENTATUM ROMANIS INGENIIS OPUS, solita tibi venustate connectas.—Senec. de Consol. ad Polyb. c. 27.

† Four minas, equal to 240 livres.

him, after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Crœsus, and to inform him, that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphos caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that, to put an end to those evils, they caused it to be signified in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. ^h At the third generation, a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop, but being descended from the persons who had bonght that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; to let all the people know, says ⁱ Phædrus, that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so distinguishing an homage.

*Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,
Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,
Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.*

^h Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134. ⁱ Lib. ii.

BOOK SIXTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

P L A N.

THIS Book contains the History of the Persians and Grecians, in the reigns of Darius I. and Xerxes I. during the space of forty-eight years, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3531.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, INTERMIXED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

BEFORE^a Darius came to be king, he was called Ochus. At his accession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language, signifies an Avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty years.

SECTION I.

DARIUS' MARRIAGES. THE IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTES. THE INSOLENCE AND PUNISHMENT OF INTAPHENES. THE DEATH OF ORETES. THE STORY OF DEMOCEDES, A PHYSICIAN. THE JEWS PERMITTED TO CARRY ON THE BUILDING OF THEIR TEMPLE. THE GENEROSITY OF SYLOSON REWARDED.

BEFORE Darius was elected king, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not known. Artabazanes, his eldest son by her, afterwards disputed the empire with Xerxes.

^a Herod. l. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

^b When Darius was seated on the throne, the better to secure himself therein, he married two of Cyrus' daughters, Atossa and Aristona. The former had been wife to Cambyses, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he possessed the throne. Aristona was still a virgin, when Darius married her; and, of all his wives, was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parmyss, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyses' brother; as also Phedyma, daughter to Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators, who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius' horse, by an artifice of the groom, procured his master that honour. ^c The king, desiring to transmit to future ages his gratitude for this signal and extraordinary service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up with this inscription: "Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse," whose name was inserted, "and of his groom, Oebares." There is in this inscription, in which we see the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his groom for so transcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit: there is, I say, in this inscription, a simplicity and sincerity peculiar to the genius of those ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of ours.

^d One of the first cares of Darius, when he was settled in the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyses had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations, such free gifts only as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops, when they had occasion for them. But Darius conceived, that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him, in peace and security, without keeping up regular forces, and without assigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impositions upon the people.

^b A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 521. Herod. l. iii. c. 83.

^c Herod. l. iii. c. 88.

^d Idem, c. 89.—97.

In order, therefore, to regulate the administration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts, or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the satrap, or governor appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts. Herodotus has an exact enumeration of these provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia, it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia, as also the coasts of the Mediterranean, as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of country, there were several nations, which were only tributary, and not properly subjects to Persia; as is the case at this day, with respect to the Turkish empire.

^e History observes, that Darius, in imposing these tributes, shewed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were obliged in interest to give him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay? his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered, that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people. The king, however, was pleased to abate one half, choosing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is something odious in all imposts, the Persians, who gave the surname of father to Cyrus, and of master to Cambyses, thought fit to characterize Darius with that of ^{*} merchant.

The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in

^e Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 172.

* Κατηλός signifies something still more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to express it in our language. It may signify a Broker, or a Retailer, any one that buys to sell again.

the whole to be about forty-four millions *per annum* French, or something less than two millions English money.

^f After the death of the Magian impostor, it was agreed that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him, should, besides several other marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of these noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment, at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage fell foul upon the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scimitar. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy amongst the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, with his children, and all that were of his family, to be taken up, and had them all condemned to be put to death, confounding, through a blind excess of severity, the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances, the criminal's lady went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king could not resist so moving a spectacle, and besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family whom she should choose. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who desired, no doubt, to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation, she determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprised the king, who desiring her to be asked the reason of it, she made answer, that by a second marriage, the loss of an husband and children might be retrieved; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.

^g I have already related in Vol. I. by what an instance of perfidiousness Oretes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons who had the misfortune to displease him. This satrap carried

^f Herod. l. iii. c. 118. 119.

^g Idem, c. 120.—128.

his insolence so far as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the satrap had no less than a thousand soldiers for his guard, not to mention the forces he was able to raise from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis, where, with great dexterity, he sifted into the dispositions of the people. To pave the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon as he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king, in plain terms, commanded them to kill the governor: and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king; and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest, there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. This physician's story is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.

^h Not long after the fore-mentioned transaction, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting, by which he wrenched one of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the most skilful in physic; for which reason the king had several physicians of that nation about him. These undertook to cure the king, * and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion: but they were so unhandy in the operation, and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him whether

^h Herod. l. iii. c. 129. 130.

* Anciently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.

he had any knowledge of physic? At first he denied he had, fearing that if he should give proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth; and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did, was to apply gentle fomentations to the parts affected. This remedy had a speedy effect; the king recovered his sleep, and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the sprain and the dislocation. To recompense the physician, the king made him a present of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes asked him, whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours, by doubling his misfortune? The king was pleased with that saying, and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might see the person to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent presents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

ⁱ Democedes was a native of Crotona, a city of Græcia Major, in the Lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father. He first went to * Egina, where by several successful cures he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty minas, and was worth about three thousand livres French money. Some time after, he was invited to Athens, where they augmented his pension to five thousand † livres per annum. After this, he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of two thousand crowns ‡. It is very much for the honour of cities, or princes, by handsome pensions and salaries, to engage such persons in their service, as are of public benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the same time reputed to excel in music.

^k Democedes, after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came

ⁱ Herod. I. iii. c. 131.

^k Idem, c. 132.

* An island between Attica and Peloponnesus.

† An hundred minas.

‡ Two talents.

to be in great credit at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been less skilful than the Grecian physician; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a strange abuse, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is seldom guided by reason or equity, and which, being accustomed to see every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature soever, should be infallibly performed! We have seen something of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himself had forgot. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country, upon which his thoughts and desires were continually bent.

¹ He had the good fortune to perform another cure, which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain of it was tolerable, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herself, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested, that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour promised the physician was, to procure him a journey into his own country; and the queen was not unmindful of her promise. * It is worth while to take notice of such events, which, though not very considerable in themselves, often give occasion to the greatest enterprises of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them.

As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and having great and numerous armies at

1 Herod. l. iii. e. 135. 137.

* Non sine usu fuerit intropicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quies magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur.—*Tacit.* l. iv. c. 32.

command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprise, and let the Persians see they had a man of courage for their king.—You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius, which were upon invading the Scythians.—I had much rather, says Atossa, you would first turn your arms against Greece. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides, you have a person here, that might be very useful to you in such an enterprise, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country; the person I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was resolved immediately. Fifteen Persian nobleman were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places, as thoroughly as possible. The king further charged those persons, above all things, to keep a strict eye upon the physician, that he did not give them the slip, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius, in giving such an order, plainly shewed he did not understand the proper methods for engaging men of wit and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they spring. For one man of genius that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away, who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty, and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his design of sending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his service to conduct the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength; at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising, at his return, to give him as many of greater value; and signified to him further, that he would order the galley in which he was to sail to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared, by his manner of speaking, to be undis-

guised and without artifice : but Democedes was afraid it might be a snare laid for him, to discover whether he intended to return to Persia, or not : and therefore, to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place they landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large vessels for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board another vessel of burden. After having passed through, and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies ; and Democedes, taking advantage of this arrest, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotouians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel ; and the Persians, having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going over to the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes let them know, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona, whose name was very well known to the king, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence ; because, on their return home, they found the king engaged in other affairs.

^m In the third year of this king's reign, which was but the second according to the Jewish computation, the Samaritans excited new troubles against the Jews. In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any farther in building of the temple of Jerusalem. But, upon the lively exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices to prevent them. To this end they applied to Thatanai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple ; which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interests. Upon this representation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem,

And being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any further deliberation ; but inquired of the Jewish elders, what license they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus made in that behalf, he would not of himself ordain any thing in contradiction of it, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their justification, and desiring him to order the registers to be consulted, to know whether Cyrus had really published such an edict in their favour, and thereupon to send him instructions of what he thought fit to order in the affair. ⁿ Darius having commanded the registers to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted. Now Darius, having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laudable : but the scripture informs us, that it was God himself who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place, it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expences of the temple, be abundantly furnished the Jews, as the priests should require : in the second place, it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, when they offered their sacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preservation of the life of the king, and of the princes his children : and, lastly, it goes so far as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people, that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expences thereof were also to be furnished to them out of the taxes and imposts of the province. What must have become of the

ⁿ Esdr. chap. vi.

Jews, when the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves !

The same prince, some time after, gave a still more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence for accusers and informers, a detestable race of men, that are, by their very nature and condition, enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious that I mean the famous edict published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews, at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vashti, one of his wives. According to Archbishop Usher, this Vashti is the same person as is called by profane writers Atossa; and the Ahasuerus of the holy scriptures the same as Darius: but according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the sacred history : I have given, however, a brief account of it in this volume.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's memory ; as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius on a certain occasion gave a very laudable instance. ^p Syloson, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a suit of clothes, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleased Darius' fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyses, whom he accompanied to Memphis in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gate of his palace, and sent up word to the king, that there was a Grecian below, to whom his Majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprised at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he saw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor ; and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure, which might seem not to be much for his honour, that he ingeniously applauded the gentleman's generosity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person from whom he could have no expectations ; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Syloson desired : the love of his country was his pre-

dominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood of the citizens, by driving out the person that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.

SECTION II.

REVOLT AND REDUCTION OF BABYLON.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of Darius ^q, Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after twenty months siege. This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoke, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly, for four years together, all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now, God continued to accomplish those terrible threatenings he had denounced against Babylon, that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire: and they themselves were the first in putting these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable, that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the siege was formed, as the prophets ^r Isaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zechariah more lately, in the following terms: "Thou, Zion, that dweltest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thyself."

^q A. M. 3488. Ant. J. C. 516. Herod. I. iii. c. 150. 160.

^r Isa. xlvi. 20. Jer. I. 8. li. 6. 9. 45. Zech. ii. 6. 7.

The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of, which was, to destroy all such of their own people as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his best-beloved wife, and one servant-maid to do the business of the family.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid up, began to insult the besiegers from the top of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians, for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem were capable of, to make themselves masters of the city : nor did they forget to make use of the same means as had succeeded so happily with Cyrus some years before ; I mean, that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless ; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprised one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyzes, who was one of the seven lords that made the association against the Magians,—to see him, I say, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body wounded in a terrible manner. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus ? You yourself, O king ! replied Zopyrus. The desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded that you never would have consented to this method, I have consulted none but the zeal I have for your service.—He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy ; and they settled every thing that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city, and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before a city which it was impossible for him to take.

He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon ; the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds, testified for him, and, by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore entirely believed whatever he told them, and gave him, moreover, the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made, he cut off a thousand of the besiegers ; a few days after he killed double the number ; and on the third time, four thousand of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus ; the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and entrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army towards the gates at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means master of the city, which he could never have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompence for so great a service ; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him during life the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the possession, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabysses, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the Athenians, was son to this Zopyrus : and that Zopyrus who went over to the Athenians as a deserter, was his grandson.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, but he ordered the hundred gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never be in a condition to rebel more against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing three thousand of those who were principally concerned in the revolt to be impaled,

and granted a pardon to all the rest. And in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he caused fifty thousand women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those which the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws, and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land, where they imposed a most grievous yoke of servitude upon them, and made use of all their power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be styled his peculiar people.

SECTION III.

DARIUS PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS. A DIGRESSION UPON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT NATION.

AFTER the reduction of Babylon^s, Darius made great preparations for the war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for undertaking this war was, to be revenged of that nation for the invasion of Asia by their ancestors: a very frivolous and sorry pretext, and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased an hundred and twenty years before. Whilst the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight and twenty years, the Scythians' wives married their slaves: When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles fought with pretty equal loss on both sides, the masters, considering that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them on the footing of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

^s Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

I design in this place to imitate Herodotus, who, in writing of this war, takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE SCYTHIANS.

FORMERLY there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lie towards the north. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

The historians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. One while they represent them as the justest and most moderate people in the world: another while they describe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carried its cruelty to such horrible excesses as are shocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations of Scythians, all comprised in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

^t Strabo has quoted authors, who mention Scythians dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all strangers who came amongst them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking-vessels of their skulls, when they had dried them. ^u Herodotus, in describing the sacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, say they used to offer human sacrifices. Their manner of making treaties, according to this author's account, was very strange and particular *. ^x They first poured wine into a large earthen vessel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, making the strongest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.

^t Strabo, l. vii. p. 298. ^u Herod. l. iv. c. 62. ^x Idem, c. 72.

This custom was still practised by the Iberians, that were originally Scythians in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it.—Ann. l. xii. c. 47.

y But what the same historian relates, concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax ; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, his secretary of state, all which persons were put to death for that purpose. To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking-vessels, and a certain part of every kind of household-goods, and furniture belonging to their deceased monarch : after which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all : When the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and placed the officers on horseback round the king's tomb, having first prepared and embalmed their bodies for the purpose ; this they did probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies possibly took their rise from a notion they might have of their king's being still alive : and upon this supposition they judged it necessary that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much sought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to pass to the consideration of their manners and customs, that had more of humanity in them ; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally savage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from Justin ^z. According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands amongst themselves, says Justin : it would have been in vain for them to have done it, since they did not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain portion of

y Herod. l. iv. c. 71. 72.

z Lib. ii. c. 2.

land allotted to them for one year only ; at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses or settled habitation, but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were all the houses they had to dwell in. Justice * was observed and maintained amongst them, through the natural temper and disposition of the people, without any compulsion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more severely punished among them than theft and robbery; and that with good reason. For their herds and their flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished ? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind ; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of linen or woollen manufactures ; and to defend themselves from the violent and continual cold weather of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians would appear to some people very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them ; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themselves to use the milk, and neglect the flesh ? The wool of their sheep might supply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But that which is the greatest demonstration of their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver, which have always been had in such great request in all civilized nations.

But, oh ! how happy was this ignorance, how vastly preferable this savage state, to our pretended politeness † ! This contempt of the conveniences of life, says Justin, was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbours' goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where

* *Justitia gentis ingenii culta, non legibus.*

† *Hæc continentia illis morum quoque justitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupidus est, ubi et usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio et abstinentia alieni foret, profecto non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuaretur : neque plus hominum ferum et arma, quam naturalis ferorum conditio raparet.*

riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! If that were the case, the world would not have seen so many wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. * It is a surprising thing, says he, that an happy natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should carry the Scythians to such a degree of wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other.

^a The Scythian fathers thought, with good reason, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them, one after another, a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken. Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you, of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord.

^b In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic advantages, the Scythians used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations. Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from the alliance nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Ancient authors seem to have strove who should most extol the innocence of manners that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace I shall

^a Plut. de Garrul. p. 511.

^b Lucian. in Tex. p. 51.

* Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosq[ue] mores inculcæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis!

transcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to them, the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age he lived in. After he tells us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous buildings, he adds, "An hundred times happier are the Scythians, " who roam about in their itinerant houses, their waggons ; " and happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the " earth, without being divided by land-marks, produceth " her fruits, which are gathered in common. There each " man's tillage is but of one year's continuance ; and when " that term of his labour is expired, he is relieved by a suc- " cessor, who takes his place, and manures the ground on " the same conditions. There the innocent step-mothers " form no cruel designs against the lives of their husband's " children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to " domineer over their husbands on account of their for- " tunes, nor are to be corrupted by the insinuating language " of spruce adulterers. The greatest portion of the maiden, " is her father and mother's virtue, her inviolable attach- " ment to her husband, and her perfect disregard to all " other men. They dare not be unfaithful, because they " are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is " death *."

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation ; who did not till the ground ; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who

* *Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plastra vagas rite trahunt domos
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ ;
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem serunt ;
Nec cultura placet longior annua ;
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali iugis sorte vicarius.
Ilic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens ;
Nec dotata regit verum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero :
Dos est magna parentium
Virtus, et mctuens alterius viri
Certo fædere castitas :
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.—HOR. Lib. iii. Od. 24.*

dwell in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather for despising, the use of gold and silver? * Is it not to be wished, that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence, to become the causes and instruments of all vices and iniquity? What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of man actually require, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities? It is no wonder that, living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting; or that they should despise fine clothes and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly say, that these pretended advantages contribute to the real happiness of life? Were those nations that had them in the greatest plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge it, to the shame of ancient philosophy; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, carried it, however, to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, in a human way of speaking, truly deserved that title; as health, strength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions we add the knowledge and love of God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value and ineffectual, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them;

* Aurum irreputum, et sic melius situm
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior,
Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.—HOR. LIB. III. OD. 3.

and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them “the most just and upright of men.”

But at length, who could believe it? luxury, that might be thought only to thrive in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is ^c Strabo that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After he has greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all dissimulation and deceit, he owns, that their intercourse in latter times with other nations had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations should have consisted only in rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity which they had before: but instead of that, it introduced a total dissoluteness of manners amongst them, and quite transformed them into different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus ^d says, the Scythians abandoned themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the same time that they suffered self-interest and avarice to prevail amongst them.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, says he, has perverted almost all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure amongst them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miserable talent, and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius

^c Lib. vii. p. 301.

^d Athen. l. xii. p. 524.

undertook an unsuccessful expedition; which I will make the subject of the next article.

SECTION IV.

DARIUS' EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS.

I HAVE already observed, that the pretence used by Darius for undertaking the war against the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Asia; but in reality he had no other end therein, than to satisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conquests.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his side, had no less zeal for the true interests of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments with all the freedom that an affair of such importance required. "Great prince," says he to him *, "they who form any great enterprise, ought carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution of it will be easy or difficult; whether it be likely to augment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent with, or contrary to, the rules of justice. For my own part, I cannot perceive, Sir, even though you were sure of success, what advantage you can propose to yourself in undertaking a war against the Scythians. Consider the vast distance between them and you, and the prodigious space of land and sea that separates them from your dominions: besides, they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that have no fixed settlement, or places of habitation; and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What spoil or benefit can accrue to your troops from such an expedition; or, to speak more properly, what loss have you not reason to apprehend?

"As they are accustomed to remove from country to country, if they should think proper to fly before you; not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a design to harass and ruin your army, by continual and fatiguing marches; what would become of us, in such an uncultivated, barren, and

* Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, estimare debent, an, quod inchoatur, reipublicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum effectu, aut certe non arduum sit.—*Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 76.*

“ naked country, where we shall neither find forage for our
 “ horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, Sir, that
 “ through a false notion of glory, and the influence of flat-
 “ terers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to
 “ the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of
 “ peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where
 “ you are the object of their admiration, and the author of
 “ their happiness. You are sensible the gods have placed you
 “ upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or, to speak more
 “ properly, to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than
 “ the minister of their power. It is your pleasure to be the
 “ protector, the guardian, and the father of your subjects :
 “ and you often declare to us, because you really believe so,
 “ that you look upon yourself as invested with sovereign
 “ power, only to make your people happy. What exquisite
 “ joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the
 “ source of so many blessings; and under the shadow of your
 “ name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so de-
 “ sirable a tranquillity? Is it not the glory of a king, who
 “ loves his subjects, and is beloved by them, who, instead
 “ of making war against neighbouring or distant nations,
 “ makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity
 “ with each other; is not such a glory vastly preferable to
 “ that of ravaging and spoiling nations, of filling the earth
 “ with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation,
 “ and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought
 “ to have a greater influence upon you than all others, I
 “ mean that of justice. Thanks to the gods, you are not
 “ of the number of those princes, who * acknowledge no
 “ other law than that of force, and who imagine that they
 “ have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity, which
 “ private persons have not, of invading other men's proper-
 “ ties. † You do not make your greatness consist in being
 “ able to do whatever you will, but in willing only what
 “ may be done, without infringing the laws, or violating
 “ justice. To speak plain, shall one man be reckoned un-
 “ just, and a robber, for seizing on a few acres of his neigh-
 “ bour's estate; and shall another be reckoned just and
 “ great, and have the title of hero, only because he seizes
 “ upon and usurps whole provinces? Permit me, Sir, to ask
 “ you, What title have you to Scythia? What injury have the

* Id in summa fortuna æquius, quod validius : et sua retinere, privatae domus:
 de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse.—*Tacit. Annal. l. xxv. c. 1.*

† Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum
 possis.—*Plin. in Paneg. Traj.*

" Scythians done you? What reason can you allege for
 " declaring war against them? The war, indeed, in which
 " you have been engaged against the Babylonians, was at the
 " same time both just and necessary: the gods have accord-
 " ingly crowned your arms with success. It belongs to you,
 " Sir, to judge whether that which you are now going to
 " undertake be of the same nature."

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince, and the good of his country, could inspire such a freedom: as, on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius, * as Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things, which are generally incompatible, the sovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men; and his fleet, consisting of six hundred sail of ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations, that dwelt upon the sea-coasts of Asia Minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus, which he passed upon a bridge of boats: after which, having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected, with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, "the best and
 " handsomest of all men living." What a littleness of soul and vanity was this!

And yet, if all this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable than they do, at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects ^f. But how shall we reconcile Darius' disposition, which seemed to be so exceeding humane and gentle, with a barbarous and cruel action of his towards Oebasus, a venerable old man, whose merit, as well as quality, entitled him to respect! This nobleman had three sons, who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius' departure from Susa, the good old-father begged as a favour of him, that he

^f Herod. l. iv. c. 84. Senec. de Ira. c. xvi.

* Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuit, principatum et libertatem.—Tacit. n Vit. Agric. cap. iii.

would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. “One,” replied Darius, “will not be sufficient for you; I will leave you all the three:” and immediately he caused them all to be put to death.

^g When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of boats, the king was for having the bridge broke down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops, as was necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a necessary resource, in case the war with the Scythians should prove unfortunate. The king gave into this opinion, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave at the same time to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months: he then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

^h As soon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching against them, they immediately entered into consultation upon the measures necessary to be taken. They were very sensible, that they were not in a condition to resist so formidable an enemy alone. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring people, and desired their assistance, alledging that the danger was general, and concerned them all; and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand; others absolutely refused to enter into a war, which they said did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

ⁱ One wise precaution taken by the Scythians, was to secure their wives and children by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they marched in conjunction with their allies against the enemy, not with the view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places as suited best their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the

^g Herod. l. iv. c. 97. 101.

^h Idem, c. 102. 118. 119.

ⁱ Idem, c. 120. 125.

country ; and thereby drew them on from place to place, into the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, by which means their lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

^k Darius, weary of those tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent an herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathrysus, with this message in his name : “ Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost thou continually fly before me ? “ Why dost thou not stop somewhere or other, either to give “ me battle, if thou believest thyself able to encounter me, “ or if thou thinkest thyself too weak, to acknowledge thy “ master, by presenting him with earth and water ? ” The Scythians were an high-spirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and professed enemies to all slavery. Indathrysus sent Darius the following answer : “ If I fly before thee, “ prince of the Persians, it is not because I fear thee : what “ I do now, is no more than what I am used to do in time “ of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to “ defend : if thou hast a mind to force us to come to an en- “ gagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and “ thou shalt find what manner of men we are. As to the “ title of master, which thou assumest, keep it for other na- “ tions than the Scythians. For my part, I acknowledge no “ other master than the great Jupiter, one of my own an- “ cestors, and the goddess Vesta.”

^l The farther Darius advanced into the country, the greater hardships his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremity, there came an herald to Darius from the Scythian prince, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, for a present. The king desired to know the meaning of these gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by a mouse and a frog ; as also their cavalry, whose swiftness was represented by the bird ; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobryas, one of the seven lords that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner : “ Know,” says he to the Persians, “ that unless you can fly “ away in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth

^k Herod. l. iv. c. 126. 127.

^l Idem, c. 128. 130.

" like mice, or swim in the water like frogs, you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians."

^m And indeed, the whole Persian army marching in a vast uncultivated and barren country, in which there was no water, it was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin : nor was Darius himself exempted from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and desert country. The king did not afterwards forget his benefactor : to reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return into Asia, he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence ; for which reason the place was called Gangamele, that is, in the Persian tongue, " the camel's habitation." It was near this same place that Darius Codomannus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

ⁿ Darius deliberated no longer, finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his imprudent enterprise. He began then to think in earnest upon returning home; and saw but too plainly that there was no time to be lost. Therefore, as soon as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires as usual ; and leaving the old men and the sick behind them in the camp, together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they marched away, as fast as they could, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone till the next morning ; whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment as quick as possible to the Danube : this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a considerable time before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses before hand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country ; and the latter had promised to do it, but without design to execute their promise. The Scythians now pressed them to it the more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time prescribed by Darius for staying there was elapsed ; that they were at liberty to return home, without either violating their word or their duty ; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people ; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprises against any of his neighbours.

^m Strabo, l. vi. p. 305. et l. xvi. p 737. ⁿ Herod. l. iv. c. 134. 140.

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades, an Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant of Chersonesus of Thrace at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those that had accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships for his enterprise. Having * the public interest more at heart than his private advantage, he was of opinion that they should comply with the request of the Scythians, and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia : all the other commanders gave into his sentiments, except Hystiæus, the tyrant of Miletos. When it came to his turn to speak, he represented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius ; that it was under that prince's protection each of them was master in his own city ; and if the power of the Persians should sink or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs gave into his opinion ; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the public good. The resolution they came to, was to wait for Darius : but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request ; and the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians, being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

They missed Darius, who had taken a different rout from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube, and finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that consequently he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hystiæus, the Milesian, who at last answered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge ; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyzes, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year

^o Herod. l. iv. c. 141. 144.

* Amicior omnium libertati quam sua dominationi fuit.—Corn. Nep.

following, in order to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

^p Megabyzes continued some time in Thrace, whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the discretion to unite their forces, and to chuse one chief commander. Some of them had very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of misery the newborn infant had to experience: As, on the other hand, when any person died, all their kindred rejoiced, because they looked upon the deceased person as happy only from that moment, wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives, which of them was the best beloved. She, in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him; whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

^q Darius, on his return to Sardis after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learned for certain that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystiaeus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour, in recompence of his service. Hystiaeus hereupon desired the king to give him Marcina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted: whereupon he returned to Miletos, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project for building a city.

^r Megabyzes, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, that might furnish great numbers of men for

^p Herod. l. v. c. 1.

^q Idem, c. 11. 23.

^r Idem, c. 23. 25.

land and sea service; that if once those people were under the management of a prince so skilful and enterprising as Hystiaeus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection; especially considering, that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any projects or enterprises. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystiaeus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Susa, making him believe, that he set an extraordinary value upon a friend of his fidelity and understanding: two qualifications that rendered him so very dear to him, and of which he had given such memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; and giving him to understand at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hystiaeus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern at Miletos in his room.

^s Whilst Megabyzes was still in Thrace, he sent several Persian noblemen to Amintas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his master: this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another: Amintas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. At an entertainment which he made for them, they desired, at the latter end of it, that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country: however, the king would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore, upon some pretence or other, he contrived to send his ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently: and had the precaution to get the king, his father, also out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be

^s Herod. l. v. c. 17. 21.

dressed like women, and to be armed with poignards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poignards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter; but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that nothing came of it.

^t The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all that part of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus: but after the enemy retired, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

SECTION V.

DARIUS' CONQUEST OF INDIA.

ABOUT the same time ^u, which was in the thirteenth year of Darius' reign, this prince, having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. ^x To this end, he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caspatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of * Scythia. The command of this fleet was given to † Scylax, a Grecian of Caryanda, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were, to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country on both sides, quite down to the mouth of the river; to pass from thence into the southern ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the west, and so return back that way to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the straits

^t Herod. l. vi. c. 40. ^u A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508. ^x Herod. l. iv. c. 44.

* He means the Asiatic Scythia.

† There is a treatise of geography entitled *περιπλάνης*, and composed by one Scylax of Caryanda, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Caspatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the same port ^x from whence Necho, king of Egypt, had formerly sent the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coasts of Africa. Very probably this was the same port where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his discoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and subjected all that vast country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But ^y Herodotus says not one word about it: he only tells us, that India made the twentieth province, or government, of the Persian empire, and that the annual revenue of it was worth three hundred and sixty talents of gold to Darius, which amount to near eleven millions of livres of French money, something less than five hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

SECTION VI.

THE REVOLT OF THE IONIANS.

DARIUS, after his return to Susa ^z from the Scythian expedition, had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzes.

^a From a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxus, a great flame arose, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxus was the most important island of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition the principal inhabitants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletos, and addressed themselves to Aristagoras, imploring him to reinstate them in their own city. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystæus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiles the assistance they desired.

But not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis, and communicated the

^x Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

^y Lib. iii. c. 94.

^z A. M. 2500. Ant. J. C. 504. Herod. l. v. c. 25. ^a Idem, c. 28. 34.

affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him, that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxus under the power of Darius; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades would fall of themselves into his hands, one after another; that in consequence, the isle of Eubœa, now Negropont, which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near it, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and the means of subjecting all that country; and, in short, that an hundred ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprise. Artaphernes was so pleased with the project, that instead of one hundred vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him two hundred in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprise, though at the bottom it was founded only in injustice, and a boundless ambition; as also upon perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. No consideration gave him a moment's pause. The most injurious project is formed and accepted without the least reluctance or scruple: motives of advantage and convenience solely determine. The isle lies convenient for the Persians: this is conceived a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and to surprise the people of Naxus, he spread a report that his fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletos, under the command of Megabates, a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Archæmenes. But being directed in his commission to obey the orders of Aristagoras, that haughty Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one who treated him in a lofty and imperious manner. This pique occasioned a breach between the two generals, which rose so high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. Upon which intelligence they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

^b This project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian foresaw, that this accident would be attended, not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation he was in made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger came to him from Hystaeus, who gave him the same council. Hystaeus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of bringing it about, and therefore gave Aristagoras that council. He flattered himself, that in case any troubles arose in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them: and in effect the thing happened according to his opinion. As soon as Aristagoras found his design seconded by the orders of Hystaeus, he imparted them to the principal persons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly in making preparations for it.

^c The people of Tyre, having been reduced to slavery when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy *, to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from that city, (which was so powerful by sea), in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection. This was in the nineteenth year of Darius' reign.

^d The next year, Aristagoras, in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, reinstated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletos, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his credit,

^b Herod. I. v. c. 35. 36.

^c A. M. 3502. Ant. J. C. 502.

^d Herod. I. v. c. 37. 38.

* "And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire," Isa. xxiii. 17.

and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same in every city. They complied the more readily with it, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a state of independency, and professed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.

^e To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour, Aristagoras went, in the beginning of the year following, to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his interests, and engage it to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the son of Anaxan-drides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three sons besides Cleomenes, namely, Doræus, Leoni-des, and Cleombrotus, the two last of which ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Aristagoras then ad-dressed himself to Cleomenes; and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæ-monians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their liberty: that the Persians, their common ene-my, were not a warlike people, but exceeding rich and wealthy, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæ-monians; that considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Per-sian empire, and the place of the king's residence: he shewed him, at the same time, a description of all the nations and towns through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days time to consider of his propo-sals. That term being expired, he asked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Aristago-ras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have with Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was

e Herod. l. v. c. 38. 41. 49. 51.

about three months * journey. Cleomenes was so amazed at this proposal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before sun-set. Aristagoras, nevertheless, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents. The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thousand livres French money : that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifteen talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made to her father, cried out, " Fly, father, fly, this stranger will corrupt you." Cleomenes laughed, but yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired. Aristagoras left Sparta.

^f From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion: Hippias, the † son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, about ten years before the time we are speaking of, having been banished, after having tried in vain abundance of methods for his re-establishment, at last went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he said to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city were violently enraged against

^f Herod. l. v. c. 55. 96. 97.

* According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the parasanga, a Persian measure, to contain 30 stadia, it is from Sardis to Susa 450 parasangas, or 13,500 stadia, which make 675 of our leagues ; for we generally reckon 20 stadia to one of our common leagues. So that by travelling 150 stadia per day, which make seven leagues and an half of our measure, it is ninety days journey from Sardis to Susa. If they set out from Ephesus, it would require about four days more, for Ephesus is 540 stadia from Sardis.

† This fact has been before treated at large in the preceding volume.

the Persians. Aristagoras, coming thither just at this juncture, easily obtained all he desired. Herodotus remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude, than upon a single person: and so Aristagoras found it; for he prevailed with thirty thousand Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design: and it may be truly said, that this little fleet was the original source of all the calamities in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

^g In the third year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, with the twenty vessels furnished by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, they set sail for Ephesus, where, leaving their ships, they marched by land to the city of Sardis: and finding the place in a defenceless condition, they soon made themselves masters of it: but the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible, an Ionian soldier set fire to one house, the flame of which spreading and communicating itself to the rest, reduced the whole city to ashes. Upon this accident, the Persians and Lydians assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all possible diligence, in order to re-imbark at Ephesus: but the Persians, arriving there almost as soon as they, attacked them vigorously, and destroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ships, would never engage any more in this war, notwithstanding all the intreaties and solicitations of Aristagoras.

^h Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis, and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, he resolved from that very time to make war upon Greece: and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night, when he was at supper, "Sir, remember the Athenians." In the burning of Sardis it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of that country, was consumed with the rest of the city. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the temples they found in Greece: to which they were likewise induced by a motive of religion, which I have explained before.

^g Herod. l. v. c. 99. 103.

^h Idem, c. 105.

i As Aristagoras, the head and manager of this revolt, was Hystiaeus' lieutenant at Miletos, Darius suspected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conspiracy: for which reason he entered into a free conference with him upon the subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the just grounds he had for his suspicions. Hystiaeus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely surprised and afflicted; and speaking in a tone that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation, thus endeavoured to purge himself to the king: "Is it possible, then, for your Majesty to have "entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and "most affectionate of your servants? I concerned in a re- "bellion against you! Alas! what is there in the world "that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? "Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in "your court? And besides the honour I have of assisting "at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your "bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me?" After this he insinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel: that if he had staid at Miletos, the conspiracy would never have been formed; that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that province would be to send him thither; that he promised him, on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Aristagoras into his hands; and engaged, besides all this, to make the large island of Sardinia * tributary to him. The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they easily undeceive themselves. Darius, imposed upon by the air of sincerity with which Hystiaeus spoke on this occasion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Persian court as soon as he had executed what he promised.

k The revolters in the mean time, though deserted by the Athenians, and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with resolution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium,

i Herod. l. v. c. 105. 107.

k Idem, c. 103. 104. 108. and 122.

* This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe it must be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.

with the major part of the other Grecian cities in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as also the people of Cyprus. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.

^l When Hystiæus came to Sardis, his intriguing temper formed a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis, and retired secretly the night following to the isle of Chios; from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis, with letters for such of the Persians as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining that he could bring about some enterprise of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletos, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

^m There, being asked why he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any such design. The artifice, however, served his purpose extremely well, not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For, being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration, they came to a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.

ⁿ Artaphernes and Otanes, with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletos was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, they resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to

^l Herod. l. vi. c. 1.—5.

^m Idem, c. 3.

ⁿ Idem, c. 6. 20. 31. and 33.

send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletos, and to furnish it as well as possible with provisions, and all things necessary for enduring a siege; and to unite all their forces to engage the Persians at sea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe, that they should have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Lada, a small isle over against Miletos, where they assembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three vessels. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly debauched the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: so that when the two fleets came to blows, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above an hundred vessels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletos was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after Aristagoras' revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the sea-coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily, or by force. Those persons that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace, and the young women were all sent to Persia: the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystiaeus.

The last of these two had his share in the general calamity: for that same year he was taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystiaeus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive, who might create the Persians new troubles. It appeared by the sequel, that Artaphernes' conjecture was well grounded: for when Hystiaeus' head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person to whom he owed infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven

on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatness of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hystiæus was one of those restless, bold, and enterprising spirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that seem to promote the end they have in view; who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as mere empty names; who make no scruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery, or even perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who reckon it as nothing to ruin nations, or even their own country, if necessary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his sentiments, and what is common enough to these irreligious politicians, who sacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God than their interest and fortune.

SECTION VII.

THE EXPEDITION OF DARIUS' ARMIES AGAINST GREECE.

DARIUS ^q, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The king did not shew much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, because he was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially as it was in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was intimately concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality indeed that might augment his credit, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land-forces, after having passed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, submitted. But his fleet, attempting to double Mount Athos, now called Capo Santo, in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked with so violent a storm of wind, that upwards of three hundred ships, with above twenty thousand men, perished in the sea. His land-army met at the same time with

no less fatal a blow. For, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter of the men, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius, perceiving too late that Mardonius' youth and inexperience had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earnestly bent upon putting in execution the great design he had long had in his mind; which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance of the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprise against Sardis was perpetual in his thoughts.

1. THE STATE OF ATHENS. THE CHARACTERS OF MILTIADES, THEMISTOCLES, AND ARISTIDES.

BEFORE we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time, which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon: as also to form some idea beforehand of the great men who shared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yoke of servitude which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years, under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices; and growing jealous of the tranquillity she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it, by endeavouring to reinstate Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill-will, and her grief, to see Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must re-establish Hippias in his authority, unless they chose rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeed-

ed no better than the first; Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals sent by Darius against Greece.

Athens, from her recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different kind of spirit. ^q Among the citizens, Miltiades distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon, an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Egina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a person of great credit even in the time of Pisistratus: but being unwilling to bear the yoke of a despotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to settle with a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stesagoras, who was his nephew, and eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stesagoras dying also without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, sent his brother Miltiades, the person we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor. He arrived there, and established himself in the government, in the same year Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube; and was the person who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married * Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked and took all that he had on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired great reputation.

^r At the same time two other citizens, younger than

^q Herod. l. vi. c. 34. 41. Cor. Nep. in Mil. cap. i.—iii.

^r Plut. in

Arist. p. 319 320. et in Them. 112. 113. An seni sit ger. Resp. p. 790. 791.

* After the death of Miltiades, this princess had by a second husband a son who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the historian.—Herod.

Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon the model of Clisthenes, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had very much contributed to the restoring it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratides out of that city. It was an excellent custom among the ancients, and which it were to be wished might prevail amongst us, that the young men, ambitious of public employments, particularly * attached themselves to such aged and experienced persons as had distinguished themselves most eminently therein ; and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach them the art of acting themselves, and governing others with wisdom and discretion. Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthenes, and Cimon to Aristides ; and he mentions several others, among the rest Polybius, whom we have mentioned so often, and who in his youth was the constant disciple and faithful imitator of the celebrated Philopœmen.

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions ; but they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends ; behaving himself with great affability and complaisance to every body, always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name ; nor was he very nice about the means he used to oblige them. ^s Somebody talking with him once on this subject, told him he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more equal, and if he was not biassed in favour of one more than another : “ God forbid,” replied Themistocles, “ I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more credit or favour than strangers.” Cleon, who appeared some time after at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempted from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and

^s Cic. de Senect. Plut. An sit ger. Resp. p. 806. 807.

* Discere a peritis, sequi optimos. Tacit. in Agric.

cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and judging hardly of their integrity. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends, but his passions, that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, whose great admirer he was, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own ; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expence of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends' recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them, to require the same favour from him on the like occasion. He used to say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours among these great men, we are not to wonder, if, during their administration, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising in almost all his attempts, was still sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should get too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried out aloud as he went out of the assembly, “ That the Athenians would “ never prosper, till they threw them both into the Bara-“ thrum.” The Barathrum was a pit into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown. ^t But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies : and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, which we shall speak

^t Plut. Apophthegm. p: 186.

of presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles never appeared but in a very thoughtful and melancholy humour; he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, "That Miltiades' trophies would not let him sleep." These were a kind of incentive, which never ceased to prompt and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory wholly engrossed him.

As for Aristides, the love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for, was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes, to which those who have the administration of affairs are exposed; for he was neither elevated with the honour conferred upon him, nor cast down at the contempt and disappointments he sometimes experienced. On all occasions, he preserved his usual calmness and temper, being persuaded, that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general esteem for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of *Æschylus'* plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verse which describes the character of Amphiarus, "He "does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but "really to be so," the whole audience cast their eyes on Aristides, and applied the sense to him.

Another thing related of him, with relation to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer-general of the republic, but he made it appear, that his predecessors in that office had cheated the state of vast sums of money, and amongst the rest Themistocles, in particular; for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts, Themistocles raised a mighty faction against him, accused him of having embezzled the public treasure, and prevailed so far as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgement was reversed, and the fine remitted, but he was elected treasurer for the year ensuing.

He then seemed to repent of this former administration ; and by shewing himself more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that plundered the commonwealth. For as he neither reproved them, nor narrowly inspected their accounts, all these plunderers, grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extolled Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way ; especially as he had to do with officers who for their part were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time of election was come, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up, and warmly reproved the Athenian people : "What," says he, "when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying returns ; and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all these robbers of the public, I am an admirable man, and the best of citizens ! I cannot help declaring to you, that I am more ashamed of the honour you do me this day, than I was of the condemnation you passed against me this time twelve-month : and with grief I find, that it is more glorious with us to be complaisant to knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic." By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers, and gained the esteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious Athenians, who began to distinguish their extensive merit, when Darius turned his arms against Greece.

2. DARIUS SENDS HERALDS INTO GREECE, IN ORDER TO SOUND THE PEOPLE, AND TO REQUIRE THEM TO SUBMIT.

" BEFORE this prince would directly engage in this enterprise, he judged it expedient, first of all, to sound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different states stood affected towards him. With this view he sent heralds into all parts of Greece, and to require earth and water in his name :

u Herod. l. vi. c. 49. et 86.

this was the form used by the Persians when they exacted submission from those they were for subjecting to them. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands ; as did also the inhabitants of Ægina, a little isle, over-against and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of Ægina was looked upon as a public treason. The Athenians represented the matter to the Spartans, who imediately sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of Ægina refused to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself suggested that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family ; and succeeded in his attempt by the assistance of the priestess of Delphos, whom he had suborned to give an answer favourable to his designs. Demaratus, not being able to endure so gross an injury, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable settlement in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the custody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphos being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set those prisoners at liberty, but they refused.

* The Persian heralds, who went to Sparta and Athens, were not so favourably received as those that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take there earth and water. I should be less surprised at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, rash, impetuous, and violent ; where reason is seldom heard, and every thing determined by passion. But I do not find any thing in this agreeable to the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded : but to treat public officers in such a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. y If what the historians say on this head be true, the crime did not remain unpunished. Talthy-

x Herod. l. vii. c. 133. 136.
p. 182. 183.

y Idem, c. 135. 136. Paus. in Lacon.

bius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius' heralds.

3. THE PERSIANS DEFEATED AT MARATHON BY MILTIADES.

^z DARIUS immediately sent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their instructions were, to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. ^a They set sail with a fleet of five or six hundred ships, and an army of five hundred thousand men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the Ægean sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants; they reduced it entirely to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia ^b. Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Cissia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where ^c Appollonius Tyanæus found some of their descendants six hundred years afterwards.

^d After this success at Eretria, the Persians advanced towards Attica. Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria, and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to surrender immediately.

^z A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490. ^a Plut. in Meral. p. 829. ^b Herod. l. vi. c. 119. ^c Philostr. l. i. c. 17. ^d Herod. l. vi. c. 120. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. iv.—vi. Justin. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321.

The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly, and without deliberation ; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient custom and superstitious maxim amongst them, that did not admit them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, so great terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platæa alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which had never been done there before this occasion.

The Persian army commanded by Datis, consisted of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. That of the Athenians amounted in all only to ten thousand men. This had ten generals, of which Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great dispute among these officers, whether they should hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within the walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reasonable. For, what appearance of success could there be in facing, with a handful of soldiers, so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians ? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and shewed, that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought some of the other commanders into it, so that when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both sides of the question. Hereupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callimachus, who was then * Polemarch, and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands ; and that his single vote was to determine whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or be enslaved ; and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Aristogiton, the authors of that liberty the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced that word in favour of Miltiades' opinion. And accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

* The Polemarch of Athens was both an officer and a considerable magistrate, equally employed to command in the army, and to administer justice. I shall give a large account of this office in another place.

Aristides, reflecting that a command which changes every day must necessarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to itself, and incapable either of projecting or executing any uniform design, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in one single person : and, to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the love of the public good : and, by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it in one's self. Miltiades however thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two sides of his army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible that the place was not advantageous for him : but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely superior to that of the Athenians, and, on the other hand, not being willing to stay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As soon as the signal for battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small, and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers : but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner ; which may seem somewhat astonishing. And, indeed, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some measure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity ; and that the soldiers, having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, spent, and in disorder, when they came to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain the charge

advantageously? ^e This consideration engaged Pompey, at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops in a steady posture, and to forbid them making any motion, till the enemy made the first attack: ^f But Cæsar * blames Pompey's conduct in this respect, and gives this reason for it,—that the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage, inspires the soldiers with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, and gives an additional force to their blows, and that increases and inflames their courage, which, by the rapid movement of so many thousand men together, is blown up and animated, to use the expression, like flames by the wind. I leave it to the gentlemen who profess arms, to decide the point between these two great captains, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep; the reason of which seems manifest enough. Having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a numerous and vast army, it was impossible for him either to make a large front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined, that he could gain the victory no otherwise, than by the efforts he should make with his two wings, in order to break and disperse those of the Persians; not doubting but, when once his wings were victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the same plan as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest effort particularly upon their front. This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported it a long time with intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable

^e Cæs. in Bell. Civil. l. iii. ^f Plut. in Pom. p. 656. et in Cæs. p. 719.

* Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur propterea quod est quædam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus quæ studio pugnæ inscenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent.—Cæs.

Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν διαμάχειν φοι τὸν Πομπείον, ἀγνοῶσαντα, τὴν μετὰ δρόμον καὶ φοβερὰν ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύγγελξιν, ὡς ἔντε ταῖς πληγαῖς βίᾳ προσιθνος, καὶ συγκεκαίτι τὸν Σέριν τὸν πάντων αἰαχειπόμενον.—Plut. in Cæs.

for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Persians. The scale was quickly turned, and the barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to their heels and fled, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither, and set many of their vessels on fire. On this occasion it was that Cynægyrus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, who laid hold of one of the ships, in order to get into it with those that fled, * had his right hand cutoff, and fell into the sea and was drowned. The Athenians took seven of their ships. They had not above two hundred men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas, on the side of the Persians, above six thousand were slain, without reckoning those who fell into the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those that were consumed with the ships set on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his aid against his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himself at the head of its enemies, with design to reduce that city to ashes, to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint, than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with everlasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the just reward of so black a treachery.

^g Immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, still reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army, and ran to Athens, to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrate's house, he only uttered two or three words,—† “ Rejoice, rejoice, the ‘victory is ours;’” and fell down dead at their feet.

^h The Persians had thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a

^g Plut. de Glor. Athen. p. 347.

^h Paus. I. i. p. 62.

* Justin adds, that Cynægyrus, having first had his right and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the vessel with his teeth, and would not let go, so violent was his rage against the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the least appearance of truth in it.

† Χαίρετε, Χαίρομεν. I could not render the liveliness of the Greek expression in our language.

statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess * Memesis, who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to re-enter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens, before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country; and performed their march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great deal for an army that had just undergone a long and rude battle. By this means the design of their enemies miscarried.

Aristides, the only general that staid at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and silver were scattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents, as well as gallies that were taken, were full of rich clothes and costly furniture, and treasure of all kinds to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindered every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thousand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days hard marching; the length of the way from Sparta to Attica was no less than twelve hundred stadia, or one hundred and fifty English miles. ⁱ The battle was fought the day before they arrived: however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered, by a foolish and ridiculous superstition, from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost without example, that such an handful of men as the Athenians were, should not only make head against so numerous an army as that of the Persians, but should entirely rout and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power attack so small a city, and miscarry; and we are almost tempted to disbelieve the

ⁱ Isor. in Paneg. p. 113.

* This was the goddess whose business it was to punish injustice and oppression.

truth of an event that appears so improbable, and which nevertheless is very certain and unquestionable. This battle alone shews what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of soldiers, who are not afraid of death; by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; an hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed in them by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

^k Plato, in more places than one, makes it his business to extol the battle of Marathon, and is for having that action considered as the source and original cause of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Persian power of that terror which had rendered them so formidable, and made every thing stoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Greeks to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number, as the courage of troops; that set before their eyes in a most conspicuous light the glory there is in sacrificing one's life in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty; and, lastly, that inspired them, through the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm desire to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of a little army of heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

^l Those that were slain in the battle had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three distinct sets of monuments separately set up; one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves, whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. Miltiades' tomb was erected afterwards in the same place.

^m The reflection Cornelius Nepos makes upon what the

^k In Menex. p. 239. 240. Et lib. iii. de Leg. p. 698. 699.
Attic. p. 60. 61. ^m Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vi.

^l Paus. in

Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue by marks of distinction that were not stately or magnificent, but such as were rarely granted, and for that very reason were highly esteemed; whereas now they are so profusely bestowed, that little or no value is set upon them. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the great deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented, at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in latter ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

ⁿ Plutarch makes the same reflection, and wisely observes, that the * honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark of the esteem of them, whereof such monuments are intended to perpetuate the remembrance. It is not, then, the stateliness or magnificence of public monuments, which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those that erect them. The three hundred statues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own lifetime, but the picture in which Miltiades' courage was represented was preserved many ages after him.

^o This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery, adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters; which for that reason was called ποικίλη, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time, painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it; and, as he valued himself upon his honour, and was more attached to glory than interest, he did it gratis, and would not receive any recompence for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a sort of coin that was more acceptable to his taste, by procuring an order from the Amphictyons to appoint him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleasure.

^p The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was

ⁿ In præc. de Rep. Ger. p. 820. ^o Plin. l. xxxv. c. 9. ^p Herod. l. v.
§ 132. 136. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vii. viii.

* Οὐ γάρ μετόθν ινας δεῖ, τῆς πρέξεως, ἀλλα σύμβολος τὴν τιμὴν, οὐκ
καὶ διαφένη πολὺν χρόνον.

of no very long duration. After the battle of Marathon, he desired and obtained the command of a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the barbarians. Accordingly he reduced several of them: but having had ill success in the isle of Paros, and upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital city, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given him by the king of Persia. As little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless took place against the merit and innocence of Miltiades. ^q He was condemned to lose his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrum; a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favour shewn to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns French money, being the sum to which the expences of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his solicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion, as we shall find in the sequel he did his courage afterwards. He purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thousand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised, as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner, with regard to Miltiades, was only his merit and great reputation, which made the people who were but lately delivered from the yoke of slavery under Pisistratus apprehend, that Miltiades, who had been tyrant before in the Chersonesus, might effect the same at Athens *. They therefore chose rather to punish an innocent person, than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him. To this same principle was the institution of the ostracism at Athens owing. ^r I have elsewhere given an ac-

^q Plut. in Georg. p. 519.

^r Man. d'Etud. tom. iii. p. 407.

* Hæc populus respiciens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.

count of the most plausible reasons upon which the ostracism could be founded: but I do not see how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal.

* This appears plainly in the banishment of Aristides. His inviolable attachment to justice obliged him on many occasions to oppose Themistocles; who did not pique himself upon his delicacy in that respect, and who spared no intrigues and cabals to engage the suffrages of the people, for removing a rival who always opposed his ambitious designs. * This is a strange instance, that a person may be superior in merit and virtue, without being so in credit. The impetuous eloquence of Themistocles bore down the justice of Aristides, and occasioned his banishment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave their suffrages by writing the name of the accused person upon a shell, called in Greek ὁσπακοῖ, from whence came the term ostracism. On this occasion, a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides, applied to himself, and desired him to put the name of Aristides upon his shell. "Has he done you any wrong," said Aristides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "No," replied the other, "I do not so much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call "him the Just." Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote his own name on it, and returned it. He set out for his banishment, imploring the gods that no accident might befall his country to make it regret him. The great Camillus †, in a like case, did not imitate his generosity, and prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrateful country, by some misfortune, to have occasion for his aid, and recall him as soon as possible.

† O happy republic! cries out Valerius Maximus, speaking of Aristides' banishment, which, after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, has still been able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenas, que post illius exilium, invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt: cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!*

s Plut. in Arist. p. 322. 323.

t Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

* In his cognitum est, quanto antistararet eloquentia innocentiae. Quanquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Justus sit appellatus; tamen a Themistocle collabefactus testula illa exilio decem annorum multatus est.—Cor. Nep. in Arist.

† In exilium abiit, precatus ab düs immortalibus si exilio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempora desiderium sui civitati ingratæ facerent.—l. v. n. 32.

SECTION VIII.

DARIUS RESOLVES TO MAKE WAR IN PERSON AGAINST EGYPT
AND AGAINST GREECE, &c.

WHEN Darius ^u received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon, he was violently enraged; and that bad success was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he dispatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire, to arm themselves for this expedition.

After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems from what we read in ^x Diodorus Siculus, that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded. The historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him, "he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror;" and that the king, without being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius, detesting the impious cruelty which his predecessor Cambyses had exercised in that country, expressed great reverence for their gods and temples: that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government; and that having learned of them, with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But ^y Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that this prince, resolving at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies, determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the gross of his army, whilst the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

^z According to an ancient custom among the Persians, their king was not allowed to go to war, without having first

^u Herod. I. vii. c. 1.

^x Lib. I. p. 54. 85.

^y Lib. vi. c. 2.

^z Herod. I. vii. c. 2. 8.

named the person that should succeed him in the throne; a custom wisely established to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a successor, to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a difference between two of his sons, upon the point of succeeding to the empire; which difference might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's accession to the throne. Artabazanes, called by Justin Artemenes, was the eldest of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him preferably to all the rest. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one that was not. Demaratus, a Spartan king, unjustly deposed by his subjects, and at that time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions:—That Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private person, all he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first-born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He further supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom but those children that were born after their father's accession. The right of succeeding was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

* Justin^a and Plutarch place this dispute after Darius'

^a Justin. l. ii. c. 10. Plut. de Frat. Amore, p. 448.

* Adeo fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor insultaverit, nec victus doluerit; ipsoque litis tempore invicem munera miserint; jucunda quoque inter se non solum, sed credula convivia habuerint: judicium quoque ipsum sine arbitris, sine convictio fuerit. Tanto moderatus tum fratres inter se regna maxima dividebant, quam nunc exigua patrimonia partiuuntur.—Justin.

decease. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers on so nice an occasion. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately assumed all the marks, and exercised all the functions of the sovereignty. But, upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and, without any further appeal, to acquiesce in his decision. All the while this dispute lasted, the two brothers shewed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem and confidence for each other banished all their fears and suspicions on both sides, and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration; to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgement in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he shewed a greatness of soul truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent. No; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the nearest relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamin.

^b At whatever time this dispute is to be placed, it is evident Darius could not execute the double expedition he was meditating against Egypt and Greece; and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project. He had reign-

^b Herod. l. vi. c. 4.

ed thirty-six years. The epitaph * of this prince, which contains a boast, that he could drink much without disordering his reason, proves that the Persians actually thought that circumstance for their glory. We shall see in the sequel, that Cyrus the younger ascribes this quality to himself, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in these times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of an excellent prince?

This prince had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. † For such is the condition of princes, they never act nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they are, either as to good or evil, they are for their people; and the interests of the one and the other are inseparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people: he loved justice, and respected the laws: he esteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the holy scripture speaks, where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court. He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: ^d he said of himself, that the most imminent and pressing danger served only to increase his courage and his prudence: in a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if that may be called a glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyses and the Magian impostor; but he likewise added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the isles contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius' usual gentleness and good nature in his treatment of

c Esth. i. 13.

d Plut. in Apoph. p. 172.

* Ἡδυμαρτην καὶ σῖνον πίνειν πολὺν, καὶ τεττον φέρειν καλῶς,—Athen. l. x.
p. 434.

† Ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad remp. pertineant.—Tacit. l. iv. c. 8

that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice, than what his brother gave him on that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom or prudence? What do we see in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatness, who fancies there is nothing in the world that can resist him; and whose weak ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest, has stifled all the good sense, judgement, and even military knowledge, he possessed before?

What constitutes the solid glory of Darius' reign is, his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of his history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF XERXES, INTERMIXED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

XERXES' reign lasted but twelve years, but abounds with great events.

SECTION I.

XERXES REDUCES EGYPT, &c. &c.

XERXES^b having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations begun by his father, for the reduction of Egypt. He also confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for the supplying of them with victims for the temple of God.

^b A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 485. Her. l. vii. c. 5. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.

ⁱ In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having reduced and subdued these rebels, he made the yoke of their subjection more heavy; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achemenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.

^k Herodotus, the famous historian, was born this same year at Halicarnassus in Caria. For he was fifty-three years old, when the Peloponnesian war first began.

^l Xerxes, puffed up with his success against the Egyptians, determined to make war against the Grecians. He ^m did not intend, he said, to buy the figs of Attica, which were very excellent, any longer, because he would eat no more of them till he was master of the country. But before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and take the advice of all the greatest and most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the design he had of making war against Greece, and acquainted them with his motives; which were, the desire of imitating the example of his predecessors, who had all of them distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprises; the obligation he was under to revenge the insolence of the Athenians, who had presumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduce it to ashes; the necessity he was under to avenge the disgrace his country had received at the battle of Marathon: and the prospect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of Europe, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added further, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and he meant only to follow and execute his intentions; he concluded with promising ample rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by their valour in the expedition.

Mardonius, the same person that had been so unsuccessful in Darius' reign, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and being anxious for the command of the army, was the first who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings that had gone before or should succeed him. He endeavoured to shew the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name; he disparaged the Grecians, and represented them as a cowardly timorous people, without courage, with-

ⁱ A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Her. l. vii. c. 7.

^k Aul. Gel. l. xv. c. 23.

^l Her. l. vii. c. 8.—18.

^m Plut. in Apoph. p. 173.

out forces, or experience in war. For a proof of what he said, he mentioned his own conquest in Macedonia, which he exaggerated in a very vain and ostentatious manner, as if that people had submitted to him without any resistance. He presumed even to affirm, that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out against Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Asia ; and if they had the temerity to present themselves before him, they would learn to their cost, that the Persians were the bravest and most warlike nation in the world.

The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering discourse extremely pleased the king, were afraid to contradict it, and all kept silence. This was almost an unavoidable consequence of Xerxes' manner of proceeding. A wise prince, when he proposes an affair in council, and really desires that every one should speak his true sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no constraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty. Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly discovered his own inclination, or rather resolution to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who being eager to insinuate themselves and to please, and ever ready to comply with his passions, will not fail to second his opinion with specious and plausible reasons : whilst those that would be capable of giving good counsels are restrained by fear ; there being very few courtiers who love their prince well enough, and have sufficient courage, to venture to displease him, by disputing what they know to be his taste or opinion.

The excessive praises given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which are the usual language of flatterers, ought to have rendered him suspicious to the king, and made him apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent desire he had to command his army. But these sweet and flattering words, which glide like a serpent under flowers, are so far from displeasing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not consider, that men flatter and praise them, because they believe them weak and vain enough to suffer themselves to be deceived by commendations that bear no proportion to their merits and actions.

This behaviour of the king made the whole council mute. In this general silence, Artabanes, the king's uncle, a prince very venerable for his age and prudence, made the following

speech. " Permit me, great prince," says he, addressing himself to Xerxes, " to deliver my sentiments to you on this occasion, with a liberty suitable to my age and to your interest. When Darius, your father and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. I need not tell you what that enterprise cost, or what was the success of it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than the Scythians. The Grecians are esteemed the very best troops in the world, either by land or sea. If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from all the states of Greece united together? You design to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a bridge over the sea. And what will become of us, if the Athenians prove victorious, should advance to this bridge with their fleet, and break it down? I still tremble when I consider, that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the king your father, and the safety of all his army, were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of one single man; and that, if Hystiaeus the Milesian had, in compliance with the strong intreaties made to him, consented to break down the bridge, which had been laid over the Danube, the Persian empire had been entirely ruined. Do not expose yourself, Sir, to the like danger, especially since you are not obliged to do it. Take time at least to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have nothing to impute to ourselves. Precipitation, besides its being imprudent, is almost always unfortunate, and attended with fatal consequences. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with vain splendour of imaginary glory, or with the pompous appearance of your troops. The highest and most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. As God alone is truly great, he is an enemy to * pride, and takes pleasure in humbling every thing that exalteth itself: and very often the most numerous armies fly before an handful of men, because he inspires these with courage, and scatters terror among the others."

Artabanes, after having spoken thus to the king, turned

* Φιλεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ εὐπερχούτα πάντα κολάζειν καὶ γὰρ ἐξ φρινέειν ἀλλοι μόνη ὁ θεὸς, η ἐωντον.

himself towards Mardonius, and reproached him with his want of sincerity or judgement, in giving the king a notion of the Grecians so directly contrary to truth ; and shewed how extremely he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own views of interest and ambition could tempt him to advise. “ If a war be resolved upon,” added he, “ let the king, whose life is dear to us all, remain in Persia : and do you, since you so ardently desire it, march at the head of the most numerous army that can be assembled. In the mean time, let your children and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer for the success of the war. If the issue of it be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death * : but if it proves otherwise, as I well foresee it will, then I desire that your children, and you yourself on your return, may be treated in such a manner as you deserve, for the rash council you have given your master.”

Xerxes, who was not accustomed to have his sentiments contradicted in this manner, fell into a rage : “ Thank the gods,” says he to Artabanes, “ that you are my father’s brother ; were it not for that, you should this moment suffer the just reward of your audacious behaviour. But I will punish you for it in another manner, by leaving you here among the women, whom you do much resemble in your cowardice and fear, whilst I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory call me.”

Artabanes had expressed his sentiments in very respectful and inoffensive terms : Xerxes nevertheless was extremely offended. It is the † misfortune of princes, spoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing as dry and austere, that is sincere and ingenuous, and to regard all council, delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom, as a seditious presumption. They do not consider, that even a good man never dares to tell him all he thinks, or discover the whole truth, especially in things that may be disagreeable to their humour ; and that what they stand most in need of, is a sincere and faithful friend, that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himself very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man born with that degree of generosity, who certainly ought to be considered as the most valuable treasure of the state ; as he is, if the expression may be

* Why should the children be punished for their father’s faults ?

† Ita formatis principum auribus, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum et lætum accipiant.—*Tacit. Hist. I. iii. c. 56.*

admitted, both the most necessary, and at the same time the most rare instrument * of government.

Xerxes himself acknowledged this upon the occasion we are speaking of. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that were given him, he confessed he had been to blame to give his uncle so harsh language, and was not ashamed to confess his fault the next day in open council, ingenuously owning, that the heat of his youth, and his want of experience, had made him negligent in paying the regard due to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanes, both for his age and wisdom : and declaring at the same time, that he was come over to his opinion, notwithstanding a dream he had in the night, wherein a vision had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that war. All the lords that composed the council were ravished to hear the king speak in this manner : and to testify their joy, they fell prostrate before him, striving who should most extol the glory of such a proceeding ; nor could their praises on such an occasion be at all suspected. † For it is no hard matter to discern, whether the praises given to princes proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only, as an effect of mere flattery and deceit. That sincere and humble declaration of the king's, far from appearing as a weakness in him, was looked upon by them as the effort of a great soul, which rises above its faults, in bravely confessing them, by way of reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleness of this procedure the more, as they knew that princes educated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtiness and false glory, are never disposed to own themselves in the wrong, and generally make use of their authority to justify, with pride and obstinacy, whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. We may venture, I think, to say, that it is more glorious to rise in this manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the same time more rare and uncommon, than to see a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greatest prosperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without seeking pretexts or excuses to cover them ; pay homage

* Nullum majus boni imperii instrumentum quam bonus amicus.—*Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 7.*

† Nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata letitia facta imperatorum celebrantur.—*Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 31.*

to truth, even when it is against him, and condemns him ; and leave other princes, who have a false delicacy concerning their grandeur, the shame of always abounding with errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any.

The night following, the same phantom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the same solicitations with new menaces and threatenings. Xerxes communicated what passed to his uncle, and in order to find out whether this vision was divine or not, entreated him earnestly to put on the royal robes, to ascend the throne, and afterwards to take his place in his bed for the night. Artabanes hereupon discoursed very sensibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams ; and then coming to what personally regarded him, * “ I look upon it,” says he, “ almost equally commendable, to think well one’s self, or to “ hearken with docility to the good counsels of others. You “ have both these qualities, great prince ; and if you follow- “ ed the natural bent of your own temper, it would lead you “ entirely to sentiments of wisdom and moderation. You “ never take any violent measures or resolutions, but when “ the arts of evil counsellors draw you into them, or the “ poison of flattery misleads you ; in the same manner as “ the ocean, which of itself is calm and serene, and never “ disturbed but by the extraneous impulse of other bodies. “ What afflicted me in the answer you made me the other “ day, when I delivered my sentiments freely in council, was “ not the personal affront to me, but the injury you did “ yourself by making so wrong a choice between the differ- “ ent counsels that were offered ; rejecting that which led “ you to sentiments of moderation and equity, and embrac- “ ing the other, which, on the contrary, tended only to nou- “ rish pride, and to inflame ambition.”

Artabanes, through complaisance, passed the night in the king’s bed, and had the same vision which Xerxes had before ; that is, in his sleep he saw a man, who made him severe reproaches, and threatened him with the greatest misfortunes, if he continued to oppose the king’s intentions. This so much affected him, that he came over to the king’s first opinion, believing that there was something divine in these repeated visions ; and the war against the Grecians was resolved upon. These circumstances I relate as I find them in Herodotus.

* This thought is in Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, v. 293. Cic. pro Cluent. n. 84. et Tit. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19. Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit ; secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediatur : qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, cum extremi ingenii esse.

Xerxes, in the sequel, did but ill support this character of moderation. We shall find, that he had but very short intervals of wisdom and reason, which shone out only for a moment, and then gave way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. We may judge, however, even from thence, that he had very good natural parts and inclinations. But the most excellent qualities are soon spoiled and corrupted by the poison of flattery, and the possession of absolute and unlimited power: * *Vi dominationis convulsus.*

It is a fine sentiment in a minister of state, to be less affected with an affront to himself, than with the wrong done his master by giving him evil and pernicious counsel.

Mardonius' counsel was pernicious; because, as Artabanes observes, it tended only to nourish and increase that spirit of haughtiness and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, *ιερανος ανθερης;* and † in that it disposed and accustomed his mind still to carry his views and desires beyond his present fortune, still to be aiming at something farther, and to set no bounds to his ambition. This is the predominant passion of those men whom we usually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the holy scripture, we might call, with greater propriety, p “robbers of nations.” If you consider and examine the whole succession of Persian kings, says Seneca ‡, will you find any one of them that ever stopped his career of his own accord; that ever was satisfied with his past conquests; or that was not forming some new project or enterprise, when death surprised him? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition, adds the same author: for ambition is a gulf and a bottomless abyss, wherein every thing is lost that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the mighty void.

p Jer. iv. 7.

* Tacitus.

† Ως κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν Φυχὴν πλέον τι διζεσθαι ἀλιεῖ ἐχειν τῆς παρέοντος.

‡ Nec hoc Alexandri tantum vitium fuit, quem per Liberi Herculisque vestigia felix temeritas egit; sed omnium, quos fortuna irritavit implendo. Totum regni Persici stemma percense, quem invenies, cui modum imperii satietas fecerit? qui non vitam in aliqua ulterius procedendi cogitatione finierit? Nec id mirum est. Quicquid cupiditati contigit, penitus hauritur et conditur: nec interest quantum eo, quod inexplibile est, congeras.—Senec. l. vii. de Bonis. c. 3.

Q q 2

SECTION II.

XERXES BEGINS HIS MARCH, AND PASSES FROM ASIA INTO EUROPE, BY CROSSING THE STRAITS OF THE HELLESPONT UPON A BRIDGE OF BOATS.

THE war being resolved upon ^p, Xerxes, that he might omit nothing which might contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most potent people of the west, and made an agreement with them, that whilst the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Grecian colonies that were settled in Sicily and Italy, in order to hinder them from coming to the aid of the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himself with raising as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money that Xerxes had sent him engaged a great number of soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, in his service; so that he collected an army of three hundred thousand men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league.

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet ^q Daniel's prediction, "having, through his great power and his great riches, stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece," that is to say, of all the west under the command of Amilcar, and of all the east, that was under his own banner, ^r set out from Susa, in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place of rendezvous for the whole land-army, whilst the fleet advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

^s Xerxes had given orders to have a passage cut through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Macedonia, now a province of Turkey in Europe, which extends a great way into the Archipelago, in the form of a peninsula. It is joined to the land only by an isthmus of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the sea in this place was

^p A. M. 3523. Ant. J. C. 481.
^{A. M. 3524.} Ant. J. C. 480.

^q Dan. xi. 2. ^r Herod. I. vii. c. 26.
^s Herod. I. vii. c. 21. 24.

very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. Xerxes made this his pretext for the orders he gave for cutting through the mountains : but the true reason was the vanity of signalizing himself by an extraordinary enterprise, and by doing a thing that was extremely difficult ; as Tacitus says of Nero : *Erat incredibilum cupitor.* Accordingly Herodotus observes, that this undertaking was more vain-glorious than useful, since he might with less trouble and expence have had his vessels carried over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days. The passage he caused to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two gallies, with three banks of oars each, pass through it a-breast. ^t This prince, who was extravagant enough to believe, that all nature and the very elements were under his command, in consequence of that opinion, wrote a letter to mount Athos in the following terms : “ Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, I advise thee not to be so audacious, as to put rocks and stones, which cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou givest them that opposition, I shall cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea.” ^u At the same time he ordered his labourers to be whipt, in order to make them carry on the work the faster.

^x A traveller, who lived in the time of Francis the First, and who wrote a book in Latin concerning the singular and remarkable things he had seen in his travels, doubts the truth of this fact ; and takes notice, that as he passed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces or footsteps of the work we have been speaking of.

^y Xerxes, as we have already related, advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia, and passed the river Halys, he came to Cylene, a city of Phrygia, near which is the source of the Maeander. Pythius, a Lydian, had his residence in this city, and, next to Xerxes, was the most opulent prince of those times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with an incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expences of his expedition. Xerxes, surprised and charmed at so generous an offer, had the curiosity to inquire to what sum his riches amounted. Pythius made answer, that having the design of offering them to his service, he had taken an exact

^t Plut. de Ira Cohib. p. 455.

^u Plut. de Anim. Tranq. p. 470.

^x Bellon. singul. rer. Obse. v. p. 78.

^y Herod. l. vii. c. 26. 29.

account of them, and that the silver he had by him amounted to two thousand * talents, which made six millions French money ; and the gold to four millions of darics †, wanting seven thousand, that is to say, to forty millions of livres, wanting seventy thousand, reckoning ten livres French money to the daric. All this money he offered him, telling him, that his revenues were sufficient for the support of his household. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgements, entered into a particular friendship with him ; and, that he might not be outdone in generosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept of a present of the seven thousand darics which were wanting to make up his gold to a round sum of four millions.

After such a conduct as this, who would not think that Pythius' ‡ peculiar character and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches ? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world ; and who, besides his sordid avarice with regard to himself, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging in the gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, all his subjects went with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. Commiserating their condition, she made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear sense and a kind of palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but which in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver ; and the prince, in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities, could not satisfy his hunger. He easily divined the meaning of this enigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of ; and that to neglect, as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tillage of lands, by employing all his people in digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future, therefore, he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. Plutarch has preserved this fact in a treatise,

* About L. 255,000 Sterling.

† About L. 1,700,000 Sterling.

‡ Plutarch calls him Pythis.—Plut. de Virt. Mulier. p. 252,

wherein he has collected a great many others to prove the ability and industry of ladies. We have the same disposition of mind designed in fabulous story, in the example of a * prince, who reigned in this very country, for whom every thing that he touched was immediately turned into gold, according to the request which he himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.

^b The same prince, who had made such obliging offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him some time afterwards, that out of his five sons who served in his army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age; the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused the eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving the latter to understand, that it was a favour he spared him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice. What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind! How is it possible to have any dependence upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of gratitude and service!

^c From Phrygia Xerxes marched, and arrived at Sardis, where he spent the winter. From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which, as we have taken notice before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.

As soon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. ^d Being arrived there, he was desirous to see a naval engagement for his curiosity and diversion. To this end a throne was erected for him upon an eminence; and, in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he at first felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, in surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and considering himself as the most happy of mortals: but reflecting soon afterwards, that of so many thousands, in an hundred years time there would not

^b Herod. l. viii. c. 38. 39. Sen. de ira, l. iii. c. 17.
c. 30.—32. ^d Idem, c. 44. and 46.

^c Herod. l. viii.

* Midas, king of Phrygia.

be one living soul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and instability of human things. He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness to his people, laid hold of this moment, in which he found him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, and led him into further reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy; endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes, who, not being able to prolong the natural life of their subjects, ought at least to do all that lies in their power to alleviate the pains and allay the bitterness of it.

In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle, if he still persisted in his first opinion, and if he would still advise him not to make war against Greece, supposing he had not seen the vision, which occasioned him to change his sentiments. Artabanes owned, he still had his fears; and that he was very uneasy concerning two things. What are those two things? replied Xerxes. The land and the sea, says Artabanes: the land, because there is no country that can feed and maintain so numerous an army; the sea, because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels. The king was very sensible of the strength of this reasoning; but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great undertakings men ought not so narrowly to examine all the inconveniences that may attend them; that if they did, no signal enterprises would ever be attempted; and that, if his predecessors had observed so scrupulous and timorous a rule of policy, the Persian empire would never have attained its present height of greatness and glory.

Artabanes gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he thought fit to follow no more than he had done the former. This advice was, not to employ the Ionians in his service against the Grecians, from whom they were originally descended, and on which account he ought to suspect their fidelity. Xerxes, however, after these con-

versations with his uncle, treated him with great friendship, paid him the highest marks of honour and respect, sent him back to Susa to take the care and administration of the empire upon him during his own absence, and to that end vested him with his whole authority.

^e Xerxes, at a vast expence, had caused a bridge of boats to be built upon the sea, for the passage of his forces from Asia into Europe. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, and now called the Straits of the Dardanelles, or of Gallipoli, is seven stadia in breadth, which is near an English mile. A violent storm rising on a sudden, soon after broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a transport of passion; and, in order to avenge himself of so cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and that his men should give it three hundred strokes of a whip, and speak to it in this manner: “Thou troublesome and unhappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for having affronted him without reason. Know, that Xerxes will easily find means to pass over thy waters in spite of all thy billows and resistance.” The extravagance of this prince did not stop here; but making the undertakers of the work answerable for events, which do not in the least depend upon the power of man, he ordered all the persons to have their heads struck off, that had been charged with the direction and management of that undertaking.

^f Xerxes commanded two other bridges to be built, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. He appointed workmen more able and expert than the former, who went about it in this manner: They placed three hundred and sixty vessels across, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars a-piece, with their sides turned towards the Euxine sea; and on the side that faced the Ægean sea they put three hundred and fourteen. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix and secure all these vessels against the violence of the winds, and against the current * of the water. On the east side they left three passages or vacant spaces between the vessels, that there might be room

^e Herod. I. vii. c. 33.—36.

^f Ibid.

* Polybius remarks, that there is a current of water from the lake Mæotis and the Euxine Sea, into the Ægean Sea, occasioned by the rivers which empty themselves into those two seas.—Polyb. I. iv p. 307. 308.

for small boats to go and come easily, as there was occasion, to and from the Euxine sea. After this, upon the land on both sides they drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp, and four of a sort of reeds, called *βιελος*, which were made use of in those times for the making of cordage. Those that were made of hemp must have been of an extraordinary strength and thickness, since every cubit of those cables weighed a talent *. The cables laid over the whole extent of the vessel lengthwise, reached from one side of the sea to the other. When this part of the work was finished, quite over the vessels lengthwise, and over the cables we have been speaking of, they laid the trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and flat boats again over them, fastened and joined together, to serve as a kind of floor or solid bottom: all which they covered over with earth, and added rails or battlements on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened with seeing the sea in their passage. This was the form of those famous bridges built by Xerxes.

When the whole work was completed, a day was appointed for their passing over: And as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly spread over both the bridges, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in the enterprise he had undertaken, and desired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conquest of Europe, and had brought it into subjection to his power. This done, he threw the vessel which he used in making his libations, together with a golden cup, and a Persian scimitar, into the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over these straits; those who were appointed to conduct the march, lashing the poor soldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their speed, according to the custom of that nation, which properly speaking was only an huge assemblage of slaves.

* A talent in weight consisted of 80 minæ, that is to say, of 42 pounds of our weight; and the minæ consisted of 100 drachms.

SECTION III.

THE NUMBER OF XERXES' FORCES, &c. &c.

XERXES g directing his march across the Thracian Chersonesus, arrived at Dor, a city standing at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace; where, having encamped his army, and given orders for his fleet to follow him along the shore, he reviewed them both.

He found the land-army, which he had brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and of fourscore thousand horse, which, with twenty thousand men that were absolutely necessary at least for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, made in all eighteen hundred thousand men. When he had passed the Hellespont, the other nations that submitted to him made an addition to his army of three hundred thousand men; which made all his land-forces together amount to two millions one hundred thousand men.

His fleet, as it was when it set out for Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, or gallies, all of three banks of oars, and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried two hundred men, natives of the country that fitted them out, besides thirty more, that were either Persians or Medes, or of the Sacæ; which made in all two hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred and ten men. The European nations augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men, in all four and twenty thousand: these added to the other, amounted together to three hundred and one thousand six hundred and ten men.

Besides this fleet, which consisted all of large vessels, the small gallies of thirty and fifty oars, the transport-ships, the vessels that carried the provisions, and that were employed in other uses, amounted to three thousand. If we reckon but eighty men in each of these vessels, one with another, that made in the whole two hundred and forty thousand men.

Thus, when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and sea forces together made up the number of two millions, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who usually follow an army, and

g Herod. l. vii. c. 56.—99. and 184. -187,

of which the number at this time was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls that followed Xerxes in this expedition amounted to five millions, two hundred and eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty. This is the computation which Herodotus makes of them, and in which Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him.^h Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælian, and others, fall very short of this number in their calculation; but their accounts of the matter appear to be less authentic than that of Herodotus, who lived in the same age this expedition was made, and who repeats the inscription engraved, by the order of the Amphictyons, upon the monument of those Grecians who were killed at Thermopylæ, which expressed that they fought against three millions of men.

ⁱ For the sustenance of all these persons, there must be every day consumed, according to Herodotus' computation, above an hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and forty medimni of flour, (the medimnus was a measure, which, according to Budæus, was equivalent to six of our bushels), allowing for every head the quantity of a chœnix, which was the daily portion or allowance that masters gave their slaves among the Grecians. We have no account in history of any other army so numerous as this. And amongst all these millions of men, there was not one that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comeliness of his face, or the tallness of his person. But this is a poor merit or pre-eminence for a prince, when attended with no other. Accordingly Justin, after he has mentioned the number of these troops, adds, that this vast body of forces wanted a chief: *Huic tanto agmini dux defuit.*

We should hardly be able to conceive how it was possible to find a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an immense number of persons, if the ^k historian had not informed us, that Xerxes had employed four whole years in making preparations for this expedition. We have seen already how many vessels of burden there were that coasted along continually to attend upon and supply the land-army; and doubtless there were fresh ones arriving every day, that furnished the camp with a sufficient plenty of all things necessary.

^l Herodotus acquaints us with the method they made use of to calculate their forces, which were almost innumerable.

^h Diod. l. xi. p. 3. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 3.

ⁱ Herod. l. viii. c. 187. ^k Idem, c. 20. ^l Idem, c. 60.

They assembled ten thousand men in a particular place, and ranked them as close together as was possible ; after which they described a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle about half the height of a man's body ; when this was done, they made the whole army successively pass through this space, and thereby knew to what number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us also a particular account of the different armour of all the nations this army consisted of. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective country, the land-army was under the command of six Persian generals ; viz. Mardonius, the son of Gobryas ; Tirintatechmus, the son of Artabanes, and Smerdonus, son to Otanes, both near relations to the king ; Masistus, son of Darius and Atossa ; Gergis, son of Ariazes ; and Megabyssus, son of Zopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had its particular commanders.

There were likewise four Persian generals who commanded the fleet. In ^m Herodotus we have a particular account of all the nations by which it was fitted out. Artemisa, queen of Halicarnassus, who from the death of her husband governed the kingdom for her son, who was still a minor, brought but five vessels along with her ; but they were the best equipped, and the lightest ships in the whole fleet, next to those of the Sidoniāns. This princess distinguished herself in this war by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus observes, that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice and such wise counsel as this queen : but he was not prudent enough to apply it to his advantage.

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and sea, he asked Demaratus, if he thought the Grecians would dare to expect him. I have already taken notice, that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being exiled by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and beneficence. ⁿ As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise that a king should suffer himself to be banished, and desired him to acquaint them with the reason of it : “ It is,” says he, “ because the law

^m Herod. l. vii. c. 89. 90.

ⁿ Plat. in Apoph. Lacon, p. 220.

“is more powerful than the kings at Sparta.” This prince was very much considered in Persia : but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country *. As soon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now, being obliged on this occasion to speak his sentiments to the king, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan, and a king of Sparta.

◦ Demaratus, before he answered the king’s question, desired to know whether it was his pleasure that he should flatter him, or that he should speak his thoughts to him freely and truly. Xerxes having declared that he desired him to act with entire sincerity, he spoke in the following terms: “Great “ prince,” says Demaratus, “since it is agreeable to your “ pleasure and commands, I shall deliver my sentiments to “ you with the utmost truth and sincerity. It must be con-“ fessed, that, from the beginning of time, Greece has been “ trained up, and accustomed to poverty: but then she has “ introduced and established virtue within her territories, “ which wisdom cultivates, and the vigour of her laws main-“ tains. And it is by the use which Greece knows how to “ make of this virtue, that she equally defends herself against “ the inconveniences of poverty, and the yoke of servitude. “ But, to speak only of the Lacedæmonians, my particular “ countrymen, you may assure yourself, that as they are “ born and bred up in liberty, they will never hearken to “ any proposals that tend to slavery. Though they were “ deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and “ reduced to a band of a thousand men, or even to a more “ inconsiderable number, they will still come out to meet “ you, and not refuse to give you battle.” Xerxes, upon hearing this discourse, fell a-laughing, and said he could not comprehend how men, in such a state of liberty and independence as the Lacedæmonians were described to enjoy, who had no master to force and compel them to it, could be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to danger and death: Demaratus replied: p “The “ Spartans indeed are free, and under no subjection to “ the will of any man; but at the same time they have “ laws, to which they are subject, and of which they “ stand in greater awe than your subjects do of your Ma-

◦ Herod. l. vii. c. 101.—105.

p Idem, 145. 146.

* Amicior patriæ post fugam, quam regi post beneficia.—Justin.

" jesty. Now, by these laws they are forbid ever to fly in
" battle, let the number of their enemies be never so supe-
" rior; and are commanded, by abiding firm in their post,
" either to conquer or to die."

Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Dema-
ratus spoke to him, and continued his march.

SECTION IV.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS SEND TO THEIR ALLIES
IN VAIN TO REQUIRE SUCCOURS FROM THEM. THE COM-
MAND OF THE FLEET GIVEN TO THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

LACEDÆMON^q and Athens, which were the two most powerful cities of Greece, and the cities against which Xerxes was most exasperated, were not indolent or asleep, whilst so formidable an enemy was approaching. Having received intelligence long before of the designs of this prince, they had sent spies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of his forces. These spies were seized, and as they were just going to be put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave orders that they should be conducted through his army, and then sent back without any harm being done to them. At their return, the Grecians understood what they had to apprehend from so potent an enemy.

They sent deputies at the same time to Argos, into Sicily, to Gelon tyrant of Syracuse, to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succours from them, and to form a league against the common enemy.

^r The people of Argos offered a considerable succour, on condition they should have an equal share of the authority and command with the Lacedæmonians. The latter consented that the king of Argos should have the same authority as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and mischiefs are not men led by a mistaken point of honour, and a foolish jealousy of command! The Argives were not contented with this offer, and refused to enter into the league with the Grecians, without considering, that if they suffered them to be destroyed, their own ruin must inevitably follow.

^s The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily, and address-

^q Herod. l. vii. c. 145. 146. ^r Idem, c. 148.—152. ^s Idem, c. 153.—161.

ed themselves to Gelon, who was the most potent prince of the Greeks at that time. He promised to assist them with two hundred vessels of three benches of oars, with an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, two thousand light-armed soldiers, and the same number of bowmen and slingers, and to supply the Grecian army with provisions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generalissimo of all the forces both by land and sea. The Lacedæmonians were highly offended at such a proposal. Gelon then abated somewhat in his demands, and promised the same, provided he had at least the command either of the fleet or of the army. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who made answer, that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in case the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelon had a more substantial reason for not leaving Sicily unprovided of troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of the Carthaginians, commanded by Amilcar, which consisted of three hundred thousand men.

^t The inhabitants of Corcyra, now called Corfu, gave the envoys a more favourable answer, and immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty vessels. But they advanced no farther than to the coasts of Laconia, pretending they were hindered by contrary winds, but in reality waiting to see the success of an engagement, that they might afterwards range themselves on the side of the conqueror.

^u The people of Crete, having consulted the Delphic oracle, to know what resolution they were to take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league.

^x Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almost to themselves, all the rest of the cities and nations having submitted to the heralds that Xerxes had sent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Thespia and of Platæa. ^y In so pressing a danger, their first care was to put an end to all discord and division among themselves; for which reason the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.

^z Their next care was to appoint a general: for there never was any occasion wherein it was more necessary to chuse one capable of so important a trust, than in the present conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the whole forces of Asia. The most able and experienced

^t Herod. l. vii. c. 168.

^u Idem, c. 169.—171.

^x Idem, c. 132.

^y Idem, c. 145.

^z Plut. in Themist. p. 114.

captains, terrified at the greatness of the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whose name was Epicydes, who had some eloquence, but in other respects was a person of no merit, was in disreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithstanding all which, it was apprehended, that, in the assembly of the people, the votes would run in his favour. Themistocles, who was sensible * that in calm weather almost any mariner may be capable of conducting a vessel, but that in storms and tempests, the most able pilots are at a loss, was convinced, that the commonwealth was ruined, if Epicydes was chosen general, whose venal and mercenary soul gave them the justest reason to fear that he was not proof against the Persian gold. There are occasions, when, in order to act wisely, I had almost said regularly, it is necessary to dispense with and rise above all rule. Themistocles, who knew very well that in the present state of affairs he was the only person capable of commanding, did for that reason make no scruple of employing bribes and presents to remove his competitor : † and having found means to make the ambition of Epicydes amends, by gratifying his avarice, he got himself elected general in his stead. We may here, I think, very justly apply to Themistocles what Titus Livius says of Fabius on a like occasion. This great commander finding, when Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were going to make a man of no merit consul, employed all his own credit, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the consulship, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raised against him ; and he succeeded in the attempt. The historian adds, “ ‡ The conjuncture of affairs, and the extreme danger the commonwealth was exposed to, were arguments of such weight, that they prevented any one from being offended at a conduct which might appear to be contrary to rules, and removed all suspicion of Fabius’ having acted upon any motive of interest or ambition. On the contrary, the pub-

* Quilibet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest : ubi orta sœva tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est.—Liv. I. xxiv. n. 8.

† χείρεστι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξανηστο αρὰ πτεῖ Ἐπικύδες.

‡ Tempus ac necessitas belli, ac discrimen summæ rerum, faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet. Quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi, quod cum summo imperatore esse opus reip. sciret sequi cum haud dubio esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex re errectur, quam utilitatem reip. fecessit.—Liv. I. xxiv. n. 9.

" lic admired his generosity and greatness of soul, in that,
 " as he knew the commonwealth had occasion for an accom-
 " plished general, and could not be ignorant or doubtful of
 " his own singular merit in that respect, he had chosen ra-
 " ther in some sort to hazard his own reputation, and per-
 " haps expose his character to the reproaches of envious
 " tongues, than to be wanting in any service he could ren-
 " der his country."

^a The Athenians also passed a decree to recall home all their people that were in banishment. They were afraid lest Aristides should join their enemies, and lest his credit should carry over a great many others to the side of the Barbarians. But they had a very false notion of their citizen, who was infinitely remote from such sentiments. Be that as it would; on this extraordinary juncture they thought fit to recall him, and Themistocles was so far from opposing the decree for that purpose, that he promoted it with all his credit and authority. The hatred and division of these great men had nothing in them of that implacable, bitter, and outrageous spirit, which prevailed among the Romans in the latter times of the republic. The danger of the state was the means of their reconciliation, and when their service was necessary to the preservation of the public, they laid aside all their jealousy and rancour: and we shall see, by the sequel, that Aristides was so far from secretly thwarting his ancient rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.

The alarm increased in Greece, in proportion as they received advice that the Persian army advanced. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other resistance than with their land-forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to slavery. This exigence taught them how to set a right value upon the prudent foresight of Themistocles, who, upon some other pretext, had caused a hundred gallies to be built. Instead of judging like the rest of the Athenians, who looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he, on the contrary, considered it rather as the beginning or as the signal of still greater battles, for which it was necessary to prepare the Athenian people: and from that very time he began to think of raising Athens to a superiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the mistress of all Greece. With this view he judged it expedient

^a Plut. in Arist. p. 322. 323.

to make the Athenian power entirely maritime, perceiving very plainly, that, as she was so weak by land, she had no other way to render herself useful to her allies, or formidable to her enemies. His opinion herein prevailed among the people in spite of the opposition of Miltiades, whose difference of opinion undoubtedly arose from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with fighting at sea, and that were only capable of fitting out and arming very small vessels, should be able to withstand so formidable a power as that of the Persians, who had both a numerous land-army, and a fleet of above a thousand ships.

^b The Athenians had some silver mines in a part of Attica, called Laurium, the whole revenue and products of which used to be distributed amongst them. Themistocles had the courage to propose to the people, that they should abolish these distributions, and employ that money in building vessels with three benches of oars, in order to make war upon the people of Ægina, against whom he endeavoured to inflame their ancient jealousy. No people are ever willing to sacrifice their private interests to the general utility of the public: for they seldom have so much generosity or public spirit, as to purchase the welfare or preservation of the state at their own expence. The Athenian people, however, did it upon this occasion: moved by the lively remonstrances of Themistocles, they consented that the money which arose from the product of the mines, should be employed in the building of an hundred gallies. Against the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet Greece owed its preservation.

^c When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy, the Athenians, who alone had furnished two thirds of it, laid claim to that honour as appertaining to them, and their pretensions were certainly just and well grounded. It happened, however, that the suffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, though very aspiring after glory, thought it incumbent upon him on this occasion to neglect his own interests for the common good of the nation: and giving the Athenians to understand, that, provided they behaved themselves with courage and conduct, all the Grecians would quickly desire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he persuaded them to consent, as he would do himself, to give up that point at present to the Spartans.

^b Plut. in Themist. p. 113.

^c Herod. l. viii. c. 213.

It may justly be said, that this prudent moderation in Themistocles was another means of saving the state. For the allies threatened to separate themselves from them, if they refused to comply ; and if that had happened, Greece must have been inevitably ruined.

SECTION V.

THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ. THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.

THE only thing that now remained to be discussed ^d, was to know in what place they should resolve to meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that as they were the most exposed, and likely to be first attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable that their defence and security, on which the safety of all Greece so much depended, should first be provided for ; without which they should be obliged to take other measures, that would be contrary to their inclinations, but yet absolutely necessary, in case their country was left unprotected and defenceless. It was hereupon resolved, that ten thousand men should be sent to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, near the river Peneus, between the mountains of Olympus and Ossa. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas king of Macedonia, having given them to understand, that if they waited for the Persians in that place, they must inevitably be overpowered by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Thessalians finding themselves thus abandoned, without any farther deliberation, submitted to the Persians.

^e Thermopylæ is a strait or narrow pass of mount Οeta, between Thessaly and Phocis, but twenty-five feet broad, which therefore might be defended by a small number of forces, and which was the only way through which the Persian land-army could enter Achaia, and advance to besiege Athens. This was the place where the Grecian army thought fit to wait for the enemy ; the person who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.

^f Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march : he had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to those of the land army. Wherever he came, he found provisions and refreshments

^d A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480. Herod. I. vii. c. 172. 173.
I. vii. c. 175. 177. ^f Idem, c. 108. 132.

^e Herod.

prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which cost immense sums of money. The vast expence of these treats gave occasion to a witty saying of a certain citizen of Abdera in Thrace, who, when the king was gone, said, they ought to thank the gods that he eat but one meal a-day.

^g In the same country of Thrace, there was a prince who shewed an extraordinary greatness of soul on this occasion : it was the king of the Bisaltes. Whilst all the other princes ran into servitude, and basely submitted to Xerxes, he bravely refused to receive his yoke, or to obey him. Not being in a condition to resist him with open force, he retired to the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inaccessible place, and forbade all his sons, who were six in number, to carry arms against Greece. But they, either out of fear of Xerxes, or out of a curiosity to see so important a war, followed the Persians, in contradiction to their father's injunction. On their return home, their father, to punish so direct a disobedience, condemned all his sons to have their eyes put out. Xerxes continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every thing giving way before him till he came to the straits of Thermopylæ.

^h One cannot see, without the utmost astonishment, with what an handful of troops the Grecians opposed the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a particular account of their number in Pausanias. All their forces joined together amounted only to eleven thousand two hundred men ; of which number only four thousand were employed at Thermopylæ to defend the pass. But these soldiers, adds the historian, were all determined to a man either to conquer or die. And what is it that an army of such resolution is not able to effect ?

ⁱ When Xerxes advanced near the straits of Thermopylæ, he was strangely surprised to find that they were prepared to dispute his passage. He had always flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight ; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe, what Demaratus had told him from the beginning of his project, that at the first pass he came to, he would find his whole army stopped by an handful of men. He sent out

^g Herod. l. viii. c. 116.
c. 207.—231. Diod. l. xi. p. 5. 10.

^h Paus. l. x. p. 645.

ⁱ Herod. l. vi.

a spy before him to take a view of the enemy. The spy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their entrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair; this was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle.

Xerxes, still entertaining some hopes of their flight, waited four days on purpose to give them time to retreat.^k And in this interval of time he used his utmost endeavours to gain Leonidas, by making him magnificent promises, and assuring him that he would make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. Leonidas rejected his proposal with scorn and indignation. Xerxes, having afterwards wrote to him to deliver up his arms, Leonidas, in a style and spirit truly laconic, answered him in these words, “* Come and take them.” Nothing remained but to prepare themselves to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes first commanded his Median forces to march against them, with orders to take them all alive, and bring them to him. These Medes were not able to stand the charge of the Grecians; and being shamefully put to flight, they shewed, says Herodotus †, that Xerxes had a great many men, but few soldiers. The next that were sent to face the Spartans, were those Persians called the Immortal Band, which consisted of ten thousand men, and were the best troops in the whole army. But these had no better success than the former.

Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force his way through troops so determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what resolution to take, when an inhabitant of the country came to him and discovered a secret ‡ path to the top of an eminence, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. He quickly dispatched a detachment thither, which marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

The Greeks were soon apprized of this misfortune, and Leonidas, seeing that it was now impossible to repulse the enemy, obliged the rest of the allies to retire, but staid himself with the three hundred Lacedæmonians, all resolved

^k Plut. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225.

* Ἀντέρεψε, μολὼν λαβέ.

† Οὐς πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔνει, δύλιγος δὲ ἀνδρεῖς.
Quod multi homines essent, pauci autem viri.

‡ When the Gauls, two hundred years after this, came to invade Greece, they possessed themselves of the straits of Thermopylæ by means of the same by-path which the Grecians had still neglected to secure.—Pausan. l. i. p. 7. 8.

to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon or her king must necessarily perish, determined, without the least difficulty or hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Spartans lost all hopes either of conquering or escaping, and looked upon Thermopylæ as their burying-place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them at the same time that they should sup together with Pluto, they set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and full of ardour advanced with their king to battle. The shock was exceeding violent and bloody. Leonidas himself was one of the first that fell. The endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. At length, not vanquished but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, and nobody would keep company or converse with him. But soon afterwards he made a glorious amends for his fault at the battle of Platæa, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. ¹ Xerxes, enraged to the last degree against Leonidas for daring to make head against him, caused his dead body to be hung up on a gallows, and made his intended dishonour of his enemy his own immortal shame.

Some time after these transactions, by order of the Amphyctyons, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ to the honour of these brave defenders of Greece, and upon the monument were two inscriptions; one of which was general, and related to all those that died at Thermopylæ, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thousand, had made head against the Persian army, which consisted of three millions of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:

* Ὡ ξεῖνο, ἀγγειλοῦ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν δὲ
Κεῖμεθα, τοῖς κείγων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

That is to say, “Go, passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that ‘we died here in obedience to her sacred laws.’” Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 238.

* Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides
Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

CIC. TUSC. QUEST. l. i. n. 101.

Platæa, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory; near which was likewise another erected for Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced to the honour of those heroes, and a public game, wherein none but Lacedæmonians had a right to partake; in order to shew, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

^m Xerxes in that affair lost above twenty thousand men, among which were two of the king's brothers. He was very sensible, that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order, therefore, to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men that were killed in that action, except a thousand, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made, and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill; for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, it served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to conceal the number of the slain.

ⁿ Dismayed with a victory that had cost him so dear, he asked Demaratus if the Lacedæmonians had many such soldiers? That prince told him, that the Spartan republic had a great many cities belonging to it, of which all the inhabitants were exceeding brave; but that the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were about eight thousand in number, surpassed all the rest in valour, and were all of them such as those who had fought under Leonidas.

I return a little to the battle of Thermopylæ, the issue of which, fatal in appearance, might make an impression upon the minds of the readers to the disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occasion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a presumptuous temerity, or a desperate resolution.

That action of Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was not the effect of rashness or despair, but was a wise and noble conduct, as ^o Diodorus Siculus has taken care to observe, in the magnificent encomium upon that famous engagement, to which he ascribes the success of all the ensuing victories and campaigns. Leonidas, knowing that Xerxes marched at the head of all the forces of the east, in order to overwhelm

^m Herod. l. viii. c. 24. 25.

ⁿ Idem, c. 134. 137.

^o Lib. xi. p. 9.

and crush a little country by the dint of his numbers, rightly conceived, from the superiority of his genius and understanding, that if they pretended to make the success of that war consist in opposing force to force, and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations together would never be able to equal the Persians, or to dispute the victory with them; that it was therefore necessary to point out to Greece another means of safety and preservation, whilst she was under these alarms; and that they ought to shew the whole universe, who had all their eyes upon them, what glorious things may be done, when greatness of mind is opposed to force of body, true courage and bravery against blind impetuosity, the love of liberty against tyrannical oppression, and a few disciplined veteran troops against a confused multitude, though never so numerous. These brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to make the Persians sensible how difficult it is to reduce free men to slavery, and to teach the rest of Greece, by their example, either to vanquish or to perish.

I do not copy these sentiments from my own invention, or ascribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprised in that short answer which that worthy king of Sparta made a certain Lacedæmonian; who, being astonished at the generous resolution the king had taken, spoke to him in this manner: p “ Is it possible then, Sir, “ that you can think of marching with an handful of men “ against such a mighty and innumerable army?” “ If we are “ to reckon upon numbers,” replied Leonidas, “ all the “ people of Greece together would not be sufficient, since a “ small part of the Persian army is equal to all her inhabitants: but if we are to reckon upon valour, my little troop “ is more than sufficient.”

The event shewed the justness of this prince’s sentiments. That illustrious example of courage astonished the Persians, and gave new spirit and vigour to the Greeks. The lives then of this heroic leader and his brave troop were not thrown away, but usefully employed; and their death was attended with a double effect, more great and lasting than they themselves had imagined. On one hand, it was in a manner the seed of their ensuing victories, which made the Persians for ever after lay aside all thoughts of attacking Greece; so that during the seven or eight succeeding reigns, there was neither

p Plut. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225.

any prince, who durst entertain such a design, nor any flatterer in his court, who durst propose the thing to him. On the other hand, such a single and exemplary instance of intrepidity made an indelible impression upon all the rest of the Grecians, and left a persuasion deeply rooted in their hearts, that they were able to subdue the Persians, and subvert their vast empire. Cimon was the man who made the first attempt of that kind with success. Agesilaus afterwards pushed that design so far, that he made the great monarch tremble in his palace at Susa. Alexander at last accomplished it with incredible facility. He never had the least doubt, no more than the Macedonians who followed him, or the whole country of Greece that chose him general in that expedition, but that with thirty thousand men he could reduce the Persian empire, as three hundred Spartans had been sufficient to check the united forces of the whole East.

SECTION VI.

NAVAL BATTLE NEAR ARTEMISA.

THE very same day ^q on which passed the glorious action at Thermopylæ, there was also an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little gallies and small boats, consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisa, a promontory of Eubœa upon the northern coast towards the Straits. That of the enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the same place, but had lately suffered in a violent tempest, which had destroyed above four hundred of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to fall upon, they detached two hundred of their vessels with orders to wait about Eubœa, to the end that none of the enemy's vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of that separation, immediately set sail in the night, in order to attack that detachment at day-break the next morning. But not meeting with it, they went, towards the evening, and fell upon the bulk of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night that parted them, proved more pernicious to the Persians than the engagement which had preceded, from a violent storm of wind, accom-

^q Herod. l. vii. c. 1.—18. Diod. l. xi. p. 10. 11.

panied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harassed their vessels till break of day: and the two hundred ships also, that had been detached from their fleet, as we mentioned before, were almost all cast away upon the coasts of Eubœa; it being the will of the gods, says Herodotus, that the two fleets should become very near equal.

The Athenians having the same day received a reinforcement of fifty-three vessels, the Grecians, who were apprised of the wreck that had befallen part of the enemy's fleet, fell upon the ships of the Cilicians at the same hour they had attacked the fleet the day before, and sunk a great number of them. The Persians, being ashamed to see themselves thus insulted by an enemy that was so much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear first in a disposition to engage. The battle was very obstinate this time, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, excepting that the Persians, who were incommoded by the largeness and number of their vessels, sustained much the greater loss. Both parties, however, retired in good order.

^r All these actions, which passed near Artemisa, did not bring matters to an absolute decision, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, as they were convinced, by their own experience, that there is nothing really formidable, either in the number and magnificent ornament of vessels, or in the Barbarians' insolent shouts and songs of victory, to men that know how to come to close engagement, and that have the courage to fight with steadiness and resolution; and that the best way of dealing with such an enemy, is to despise all that vain appearance, to advance boldly up to them, and to charge them briskly and vigorously, without ever giving ground.

The Grecian fleet having at this time had intelligence of what had passed at Thermopylæ, resolved upon the course they were to take without any further deliberation. They immediately sailed away from Artemisa, and advancing toward the heart of Greece, they stopped at Salamin, a little isle very near and over against Attica. Whilst the fleet was retreating, Themistocles passed through all the places where it was necessary for the enemies to come to land, in order to take in fresh water or other provisions, and in large characters engraved upon the rocks and the stones the following words, which he addressed to the Ionians: "Be of our side, ye people of Ionia: come over to the party of your fathers,

^r Plut. in Themist. p. 115. 117. Herod. L viii. c. 21. 22.

“ who expose their own lives for no other end than to maintain your liberty : or, if you cannot possibly do that, at least do the Persians all the mischief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into disorder and confusion.” By ^s this means Themistocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party, or at least to render them suspected to the Barbarians. We see this general had his thoughts always intent upon his business, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the success of his designs.

SECTION VII.

THE ATHENIANS ABANDON THEIR CITY, WHICH IS TAKEN AND BURNT BY XERXES.

XERXES in the mean time was entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doris, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, having no thoughts but to save their own country, resolved to abandon all the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the isthmus, over which they intended to build a strong wall from one sea to the other, a space of near five miles English. The Athenians were highly provoked at so base a desertion, seeing themselves ready to fall into the hands of the Persians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Some time before, they had consulted the oracle of Delphos, which had given them for answer, ^t “ that there would be no way of saving the city but by walls of wood.” The sentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expression : some thought it was to be understood to mean the citadel, because heretofore it had been surrounded with wooden palisades. But Themistocles gave another sense to the words, which was much more natural, understanding it to intend shipping ; and demonstrated, that the only measures they had to take were to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not at all give ear to, as thinking themselves inevitably lost, and not even caring to conquer, when once they had abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had occasion for all his address and all his eloquence, to work upon the people. After he had represented

^s Herod. I. viii. c. 40. 41.

^t Herod. I. vii. c. 139.—143.

to them, that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city, he endeavoured to persuade them by the argument most capable of making an impression upon them in the unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean the argument and motive of divine authority ; giving them to understand by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies which had happened, that their removing for a time from Athens was manifestly the will of the gods.

" A decree was therefore passed, by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained, " that Athens should be given up " in trust into the hands, and committed to the keeping and " protection of Minerva, patroness of the Athenian people ; " that all such inhabitants as were able to bear arms, should " go on shipboard ; and that every citizen should provide, " as well as he could, for the safety and security of his wife, " children, and slaves."

x The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon, who was at this time very young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. Followed by his companions, with a gay and cheerful countenance, he went publicly along the street of the Cerimachus to the citadel, in order to consecrate a bit of a bridle, which he carried in his hand, in the temple of Minerva, designing to make the people understand by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with land forces, and that it behoved them now to betake themselves entirely to the sea. After he had made an offering of this bit, he took one of the shields that hung upon the wall of the temple, paid his devotions to the goddess, went down to the water-side, and was the first who by his example inspired the greatest part of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to embark.

The major part of them sent their fathers and mothers that were old, together with their wives and children, to the city of Trezene*, the inhabitants of which received them with great humanity and generosity ; for they made an ordinance, that they should be maintained at the expence of the public, and assigned for each person's subsistence two oboli

u Herod. l. viii. c. 51.—54. Plut. in Themist. p. 117. x Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

* This was a small city situated upon the sea-side, in that part of the Peloponnesus called Argolis.

a-day, which were worth about twopence English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, or wherever they came, and settled a fund for the payment of the masters who had the care of their education. What a beautiful thing it is to see a city, exposed as this was to the greatest dangers and calamities, extend her care and generosity, in the very midst of such alarms, even to the education of other people's children !

When the whole city came to embark, so moving and melancholy a spectacle drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration with regard to the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way, and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief and lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamin. But that which extremely raised and augmented the general compassion, was the great number of old men that they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, and of which many voluntarily remained there, on a motive of religion, believing the citadel to be the thing meant by the oracle in the forementioned ambiguous expression of wooden walls. There was no creature, for history has judged this circumstance worthy of being remembered,—there was no creature, I say, even to the very domestic animals, but what took part in this public mourning; nor was it possible for a man to see those poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who were going on ship-board, without being touched. Among all the rest of these animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, which not being able to endure to see himself abandoned by his master, jumped into the sea after him, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel his master was on board of, till he landed quite spent at Salamin, and died the moment after upon the shore. In the same place, even in Plutarch's time, they used to shew the spot wherein this faithful animal was said to be buried, which was called the “dog's burying place.”

y Whilst Xerxes was continuing his march, some deserters from Arcadia came and joined his army. The king having asked them what the Grecians were then doing, was extreme-

ly surprised when he was told, that they were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia : and his surprise was still increased, when he understood that the victor's reward in those engagements was only a crown of olive. What men must they be, cried one of the Persian nobles with great wonder and astonishment, that are affected only with honour, and not with money !

^z Xerxes had sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphos, in which he knew there were immense treasures, being resolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods whose temples he had pillaged. If we may believe what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say of this matter, as soon as ever this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, surnamed the Provident, the air grew dark on a sudden, and a violent tempest arose, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning ; and two huge rocks having severed themselves from the mountain, fell upon the Persian troops, and crushed the greatest part of them.

^a The other part of the army marched towards the city of Athens, which was deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themselves with incredible bravery, till they were all killed, and would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever. Xerxes having stormed the citadel, reduced it to ashes. He immediately dispatched a courier to Susa, to carry the agreeable news of his success to Artabanes his uncle; and at the same time sent him a great number of pictures and statues. ^b Those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, were sent with the rest. One of the Antiochuses, kings of Syria, (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was), returned them to the Athenians, being persuaded he could not possibly make them a more acceptable present.

SECTION VIII.

THE BATTLES OF SALAMIN, &c. &c.

At this time a division arose among the commanders ^c of the Grecian fleet ; and the confederates, in a council of war

^z Herod. l. viii. c. 35.—39. Diod. l. xi. p. 12. ^a Herod. l. ii. c. 50.—54.

^b Pausan. l. i. p. 14. ^c Herod. l. viii. c. 56. 65. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.

which was held for that purpose, were of very different sentiments concerning the place for engaging the enemy. Some of them, and indeed the major part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generalissimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the land-army, which was posted there to guard that pass, under the command of Cleombrotus, Leonidas' brother, and more ready for the defence of Peloponnesus. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, alledged, that it would be betraying of their country to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamin. And as he supported his opinion with abundance of warmth, Eurybiades lifted up his cane over him in a menacing manner. "Strike," says the Athenian, unmoved at the insult, "but hear me:" and continuing his discourse, proceeded to shew of what importance it was for the fleet of the Grecians, whose vessels were lighter and much fewer in number than those of the Persians, to engage in such a strait as that of Salamin, which would render the enemy incapable of using a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being surprised at this moderation in Themistocles, submitted to his reasons, or at least complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, shoud separate themselves from the allies, as their general had taken occasion to insinuate.

^d A council of war was also held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement. Xerxes himself was come to the fleet to take the advice of his captains and officers, who were all unanimous for the battle, because they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisa was the only person who opposed that resolution. She represented the dangerous consequences of coming to blows with people much more conversant and more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians; alledging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their land-army; whereas, by protracting the war, and approaching Peloponnesus, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, or rather augment the division already very great amongst them: that the confederates in that case would not fail to separate from one another, to return and defend their respective countries; and that then the king without difficulty, and almost without striking

^d Herod. l. viii. c. 67.—70.

a blow, might make himself master of all Greece. This wise advice was not followed, and a battle was resolved upon.

Xerxes, imputing the ill success of all his former engagements at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be witness of this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This might have contributed in some measure to animate his forces: but there is another much more sure and effectual means of doing it, I mean, by the prince's real presence and example, when he himself shares in the danger, and thereby shews himself worthy of being the soul and head of a brave and numerous body of men ready to die for his service. A prince that has not this sort of fortitude, which nothing can shake, and which even takes new vigour from danger, may nevertheless be endued with other excellent qualities, but then he is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatsoever can supply the want of courage in a general; and * the more he labours to shew the appearance of it, when he has not the reality, the more he discovers his cowardice and fear. There is, it must be owned, a vast difference between a general officer and a simple soldier. Xerxes ought not to have exposed his person otherwise than became a prince; that is to say, as the head, not as the hand; as he whose business it is to direct and give orders, not as those that are to put them in execution. But to keep himself entirely at a distance from danger, and to act no other part than that of a spectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

^e Themistocles, knowing that some of the commanders in the Grecian fleet still entertained thoughts of sailing towards the isthmus, contrived to have notice given underhand to Xerxes, that as the Grecian allies were now assembled together in one place, it would be an easy matter for him to subdue and destroy them altogether; whereas, if they once separated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with another opportunity so favourable. The king gave into this opinion; and immediately commanded a great number of his vessels to surround Salamin by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to quit their post.

^f Nobody among the Grecians perceived that their army was surrounded in this manner. Aristides came the same night from Ægina, where he had some forces under his com-

^e Herod. I. viii. c. 74.—78. ^f Plut. in Arist. p. 323. Herod. I. viii. c. 78.—82.

* Quanto magis occultare ac abdere pavorem nitchantur, manifestius pavidi.—Tacit. Hist.

mand, and with very great danger passed through the whole fleet of the enemy. When he came up to Themistocles' tent, he took him aside, and spoke to him in the following manner : “ If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall from henceforward lay aside that vain and childish dissension that has hitherto divided us, and strive, with a more noble and useful emulation, which of us shall render the best service to his country ; you by commanding, and doing the duty of a wise and able captain, and I by obeying your orders, and by assisting you with my person and advice.” He then informed him of the army’s being surrounded with the ships of the Persians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle without delay. Themistocles, extremely astonished at such a greatness of soul, and such a noble and generous frankness, was somewhat ashamed that he had suffered himself to be so much excelled by his rival ; but, without being ashamed to own it, he promised Aristides, that he would henceforward imitate his generosity, and even exceed it, if it were possible, in the whole of his future conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the stratagem he had contrived to deceive the Barbarian, he desired him to go in person to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of safety for them than to engage the enemy by sea at Salamin ; which commission Aristides executed with pleasure and success ; for he was in great credit and esteem with that general.

Both sides therefore prepared themselves for the battle. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty sail of ships, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themistocles. As nothing escaped his vigilance, and as, like an able commander, he knew how to improve every circumstance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement, he waited till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind rose, the signal was given for battle. The Persians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as were capable of striking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the first attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every thing was contrary to, and disadvantageous for them ; the wind, which blew directly in their faces ; the height, and the heaviness of their vessels, which could not move and turn with-

out great difficulty; and even the number of their ships, which was so far from being of use to them, that it only served to embarrass them in a place so strait and narrow as that they fought in: whereas, on the side of the Grecians, every thing was done with good order, and without hurry or confusion; because they were all directed by one commander. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had advised, by characters engraven upon stones along the coasts of Euboea, to remember from whom they derived their original, were the first that betook themselves to flight, and were quickly followed by the rest of the fleet. But Queen Artemisa distinguished herself by incredible efforts of resolution and courage, so that Xerxes, when he saw in what manner she behaved herself, cried out, * that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had shewed the courage of men. The Athenians, being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms against them, had promised a reward of ten thousand drachms, to any one that should be able to take her alive: but she had the good fortune to escape their pursuits. If they had taken her, she should have deserved nothing from them but the highest commendations, and the most honourable and generous treatment.

^h The manner in which that † queen escaped ought not to be omitted. Seeing herself warmly pursued by an Athenian ship, from which it seemed impossible for her to escape, she hung out Grecian colours, and attacked one of the Persian vessels, on board of which was Damasithymus, king of ‡ Calynda, with whom she had some difference, and sunk it: this made her pursuers believe that her ship was one of the Grecian fleet, and they gave over the chase.

Such was the success of the battle of Salamin, one of the most memorable actions related in ancient history, and which

h Herod. l. viii. c. 87. 88. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 53.

* Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγονότι μεοι γυναικες, αἱ δὲ γυναικες ἄνδρες.

Artemisa inter primos duces bellum acerrime ciebat. Quippe, ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cerneret.—Just. l. ii. c. 12.

† It appears that Artemisa valued herself no less upon stratagem than courage, and at the same time was not very delicate in the choice of the measures she used. It is said, that being desirous of seizing Latmus, a small city of Caria, that lay very commodiously for her, she laid her troops in ambush, and, under pretence of celebrating the feast of the mother of the gods, in a wood consecrated to her near that city, that she repaired thither with a great train of eunuchs, women, drums, and trumpets. The inhabitants ran in throngs to see that religious ceremony; and in the mean time Artemisa's troops took possession of the place.—Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 63.

‡ A city of Lycia.

has, and will render the name and courage of the Grecians famous for ever. A great number of the Persian ships were taken, and a much greater sunk on this occasion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, made the best of their way into their own country.

Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, proposed to his consideration, in order to sound him and to learn his true sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to send some vessels to break down the bridge which Xerxes had caused to be built, to the end, says he, that we may take Asia into Europe: but though he made this proposal, he was far from approving it. Aristides, believing him to be in earnest, argued very warmly and strenuously against any such project, and represented to him how dangerous it was to reduce so powerful an enemy to despair, from whom it was their business to deliver themselves as soon as possible. Themistocles seemed to acquiesce in his reasons; and in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed, that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge. The point Themistocles seems to have had in view by this false confidence, was to strengthen himself with Aristides' opinion, which was of great weight against that of the other generals, in case they inclined to go and break down the bridge. Perhaps, too, he might aim at guarding himself by this means against the ill-will of his enemies, who might one day accuse him of treason before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that secret advice to Xerxes.

ⁱ This prince, being frightened on such news, made the best use he could of his time, and set out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him, with an army of three hundred thousand men, in order to reduce Greece, if he was able. The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have come to another engagement the next day, having learned that he was fled, pursued him as fast as they could, but to no purpose. ^k They had destroyed two hundred of the enemy's ships, besides those which they had taken. The remainder of the Persian fleet, after having suffered extremely by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and entered into the port of Cuma, a city in Æolia, where they passed the winter without daring afterwards to return into Greece.

Xerxes took the rest of his army along with him, and march-

ⁱ Herod. l. viii. c. 115.—120.

^k Idem, c. 103.

ed by the way of the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared for them beforehand, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted five and forty days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army; and great numbers died of fluxes and the plague.

The king, through eagerness and impatience to make his escape, left his army behind him, and travelled on before with a small retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition: but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a great tempest that had happened, and was reduced to the necessity of passing the strait in a cock-boat. * This was a spectacle very proper to shew mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the instability of human greatness; a prince, whose armies and fleets the land and sea were scarce able to contain a little while before, now stealing away in a little boat, almost without any servants or attendants! Such was the event and success of Xerxes' expedition against Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himself at different times and on different occasions, we shall hardly know him for the same man. When affairs were under consideration and debate, no person could shew more courage and intrepidity than this prince; he is surprised, and even offended, if any one foresees the least difficulty in the execution of his projects, or shews any apprehension concerning events. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flies like a coward, and thinks of nothing but saving his own life and person. Here we have a sensible and evident proof of the difference between true courage, which is never destitute of prudence, and temerity, always blind and presumptuous. A wise and great prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumstances, before he enters into a † war, of which he is not afraid, but at the same time does not desire; and when the time of action is come, the sight of danger serves only to animate his courage. Presumption inverts this order. ‡ When she has introduced assurance and bold-

* Erat res spectaculo digna, aestimatione sortis humanæ, rerum varietate miranda, in exiguo latenter videre navigio, paulo ante vix aquor omne capiebat; carentem etiam omni servorum ministerio, cuius exercitus, propter multitudinem, terris graves erant.—Justin. l. ii. c. 13.

† Non tines bella, non provocas.—Plin. de Traj. Fortissimus in ipso discrimine, qui ante discrimen quietissimus.—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 14.

‡ Ante discrimen ferox, in pericula pavidi.—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 68.

ness where wisdom and circumspection ought to preside, she admits fear and despair where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted.

^l The first thing the Grecians took care of after the battle of Salamin, was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken to Delphos. Cimon, who was then very young, signalized himself in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of such distinguished valour, as acquired him a great reputation, and made him be considered from henceforth as a citizen that would be capable of rendering the most important services to his country on future occasions.

^m But Themistocles carried off almost all the honour of this victory, which was the most signal that ever the Grecians obtained over the Persians. The force of truth obliged even those who envied his glory most, to render him this testimony. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the commanding officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing in a paper the name of the man who had merited the first prize, and of him who had merited the second.

On this occasion, by a judgement which shews the good opinion natural for every man to have of himself, each officer concerned adjudged the first rank to himself, and allowed the second to Themistocles; which was indeed giving him the preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians, having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours due to his merit, decreed to their general Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, which was a crown of olive for both of them. They also made a present to Themistocles of the finest chariot in the city; and on his departure sent three hundred young men of the most considerable families to wait upon him to the frontiers: an honour they had never shewn to any person whatsoever before.

But that which gave him a still more sensible pleasure, were the public acclamations he received at the first Olympic games that were celebrated after the battle of Salamin, where all the people of Greece were met together. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combats; Themistocles was the only spectacle. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every person was eager to shew him and point him out with the hand to the strangers

^l Herod. I. vii. c. 122. 125.

^m Plut. in Themist. p. 120.

that did not know him. He acknowledged afterwards to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happiest of his life ; that he had never tasted any joy so sensible and so transporting ; and that this reward, the genuine fruit of his labours, exceeded all his desires.

The reader has undoubtedly observed in Themistocles two or three principal strokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked amongst the greatest men. The design which he formed and executed, of making the whole force of Athens maritime, shewed him to have a superior genius, capable of the highest view, penetrating into futurity, and judicious to seize the decisive point in great affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was of a barren nature and small extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herself was by sea. And indeed that scheme may justly be looked upon as the source and cause of all those great events, which raised the republic of Athens in the sequel to so flourishing a condition.

But, in my opinion, though this wisdom and foresight is a most excellent and valuable talent, yet it is infinitely less meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation, which Themistocles shewed on two critical occasions, when Greece had been utterly undone, if he had listened to the dictates of an ill-judged ambition, and had piqued himself upon a false point of honour, as is usual among persons of his age and profession. The first of these occasions was, when, notwithstanding the crying injustice that was committed, both in reference to the republic of which he was a member, and to his own person, in appointing a Lacedæmonian generalissimo of the fleet, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to desist from their pretensions, though never so justly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects with which a division among the confederates must have been necessarily attended. And what an admirable instance did he give of his presence of mind and coolness of temper, when the same Eurybiades not only affronted him with harsh and offensive language, but lifted up his cane at him in a menacing posture ! Let it be remembered at the same time, that Themistocles was then but young ; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory ; that he was commander of a numerous fleet ; and that he had right and reason on his side. How would our young officers behave on a like occasion ? Themistocles took all patiently, and the victory of Salamin was the fruit of his patience.

As to Aristides, I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak

more extensively upon his character and merit. He was, properly speaking, the man of the commonwealth: provided that was well and faithfully served, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others was far from offending him; and instead of that, became his own by the approbation and encouragement he gave it. We have seen him make his way through the enemy's fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themistocles some good intelligence and advice: and * Plutarch takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Aristides assisted him on all occasions with his counsel and credit, notwithstanding he had reason to look upon him not only as his rival, but his enemy. Let us compare this nobleness and greatness of soul with the little-spiritedness and meanness of those men, who are so nice, punctilious, and jealous in point of command; who are incompatible with their colleagues, using all their attention and industry to engross the glory of every thing to themselves; always ready to sacrifice the public to their private interests, or to suffer their rivals to commit blunders, that they themselves may reap advantage from them.

^m On the very same day the action of Thermopylæ happened, the formidable army of the Carthaginians, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the same day with that of Salamin. The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have related in the history of the Carthaginians.

ⁿ After the battle of Salamin, the Grecians being returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had declared for them, to levy contributions, and exact money from them. The first he began with was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum, speaking to them in this manner: "I come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Force." The answer they made him was: "We also have two other divinities on our side, no less powerful than your's, and which do not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Poverty and Impotence." Upon this refusal he made a feint of besieging them, and threatened that he would entirely ruin their city.

^m Herod. l. vii. c. 165. 167.
p. 122.

ⁿ Idem, c. 111. 112. Plut. in Themist.

* Πάντα συνέπεστι καὶ συνεύλενεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπί σωτηρίανοι ποιῆται εὐθεῖς.—In Vit. Arist. p. 323.

He dealt in the same manner with several other islands, which durst not resist him as Andros had done, and drew great sums of money from them without the privity of the other commanders; for he was esteemed a lover of money, and to be desirous of enriching himself.

SECTION IX.

THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

MARDONIUS ^g, who staid in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men, let his troops pass the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring following, led them into Bœotia. There was a very famous oracle in this country, the oracle I mean of Lebadia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know what would be the success of the war. The priest, in his enthusiastic fit, answered in a language which nobody that was present understood, as much as to insinuate, that the oracle would not deign to speak intelligibly to a Barbarian. At the same time Mardonius sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with several Persian noblemen, to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made very advantageous proposals to the Athenian people, to divide them from the rest of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city which had been burnt down, to give them a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander, as their ancient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity for re-establishing their affairs, alleging, that they were not in a condition to withstand a power so formidable as that of the Persians, and so much superior to that of Greece. On the first intelligence of this embassy, the Spartans also on their side sent deputies to Athens, in order to hinder it from taking effect. These were present when the others had their audience; where, as soon as Alexander had finished his speech, they began in their turn to address themselves to the Athenians, and strongly exhorted them not to separate themselves from their allies, nor to desert the common interest of their country; representing to them, at the same time, that their union in the present situation of their affairs was their whole strength,

^g A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 497. Herod. l. vii. c. 113.—131. 136.—140. 744. Plut. in Arist. p. 524. Diod. l. xi. p. 22. 23. Plut. de Orac. Defect. p. 412.

and would render Greece invincible. They added further, that the Spartan commonwealth was very sensibly moved with the melancholy state which the Athenians were in, who were destitute both of houses and retreat, and who for two years together had lost all their harvests; that, in consideration of that calamity, she would engage herself, during the continuance of the war, to maintain and support their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furnish a plentiful supply for all their wants. They concluded by observing on the conduct of Alexander, whose discourse, they said, was such as might be expected from one tyrant who spoke in favour of another; but that he seemed to have forgot, that the people to whom he addressed himself had shewed themselves, on all occasions, the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Aristides was at this time in office, that is to say, principal of the Archons. As it was therefore his business to answer, he said, that as to the Barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation, by large bounties and promises: but that he could not help being surprised, and affected with some sort of indignation, to see that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the present distress and necessity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist steadfastly in the defence of the common liberty of Greece, by arguments and motives of gain, and by proposing to give them victuals and provision: he desired them to acquaint their republic, that all the gold in the world was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them desert the defence of the common liberty; that they had the grateful sense they ought to have, of the kind offers which Lacedæmon had made them; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs so as not to be a burden to any of their allies. Then, turning himself towards the ambassadors of Mardonius, and pointing with his hand to the sun: "Be assured," says he to them, "that as long as that planet shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and will not cease to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands, and burning their houses and temples." After which, he desired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, that he would not make himself any more the bearer of such proposals to them, which would only serve to reflect dishonour upon him, without ever producing any other effect.

Aristides, notwithstanding his having made this plain and peremptory declaration, did not stop there: but that he might still imprint the greater horror for such proposals, and for ever to prohibit all manner of commerce with the Barbarians, by a principle of religion, he ordained that the Athenian priests should denounce anathemas and execrations upon any person whatsoever, who should presume to propose the making of an alliance with the Persians, or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Grecians.

p When Mardonius had learned by the answer which the Athenians had sent him, *that they were to be prevailed upon by no proposals or advantages whatsoever to sell their liberty, he marched with his whole army towards Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to Salamin, and for a second time abandoned their city: Mardonius, still entertaining hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, sent another deputy to them to make the same proposals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion that they should hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately stoned, and the Athenian women, running at the same time to his house, did the same execution upon his wife and children; so detestable a crime did they think it to propose any peace with the Persians. But notwithstanding this, they had a respect to the character wherewith the deputy was invested, and sent him back without offering him any indignity or ill treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expected with them. He therefore entered Athens, burnt and demolished every thing that had escaped their fury the preceding year, and left nothing standing.

The Spartans, instead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagements, thought only of keeping themselves shut up within the Peloponnesus for their own security, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering that way, by which means they reckoned they should be safe themselves, and should have no further occasion for the assistance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon sent deputies to Sparta, in order to complain of the slowness and neglect of their allies. But the Ephori did not seem to be

p Herod. l. ix. c. 1.—11. Plut. in Arist.

* Posteaquam nullo precio libertatem his videt venalem, &c.—Justin. l. ii. c. 14.

much moved at their remonstrances: and, as that day was the feast of * Hyacinthus, they spent it in feasts and rejoicing, and deferred giving the deputies their answer till the next day. And still procrastinating the affair as much as they could on various pretexts, they gained ten days time, during which the building of the wall was completed. They were on the point of dismissing the Athenian envoys in a scandalous manner, when a private citizen expostulated with them, and represented to them, how base it would be to treat the Athenians in such a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary losses they had so generously suffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important services they had rendered Greece in general. This opened their eyes, and made them ashamed of their perfidious design. The very next night following, they sent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, five thousand Spartans, who had each of them seven helotæ, or slaves, to attend him. In the morning afterwards, the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and resentment, and were extremely surprised when they were told that the Spartan succours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

^q Mardonius had left Attica at this time, and was on his return into the country of Bœotia. As the latter was an open and flat country, he thought it would be more convenient for him to fight there, than in Attica, which was uneven and rugged, full of hills and narrow passes, and which for that reason would not allow him space enough for drawing up his numerous army in battle-array, nor leave room for his cavalry to act. When he came back into Bœotia, he encamped by the river Asopus. The Grecians followed him thither under the command of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Aristides, general of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to the account of Herodotus, consisted of three hundred thousand, or, according to that of Diodorus, of five hundred thousand men. That of the Grecians did not amount to seventy thousand; of which there were but five thousand Spartans; but, as these were accompanied with thirty-five thousand of the helotæ, viz. seven for each Spar-

^q Herod. I. xi. c. 12.—Plut. in Arist. p. 325.—330. Diod. I. xi. p. 24. 26.

* Amongst the Lacedæmonians the feast of Hyacinthus continued three days: the first and the last of which were days of sorrow and mourning for the death of Hyacinthus: but the second was a day of rejoicing, which was spent in feasting, sports, and spectacles, and all kinds of diversions. This festival was celebrated every year in the month of August, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus,

tan, they made up together forty thousand : the latter of these were light-armed troops, the Athenian forces consisted but of eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians, an honour which the people of Tegæ pretended to, and disputed with them, but in vain.

^r Whilst all Greece was in suspense, expecting a battle that should determine their fate, a secret conspiracy, formed in the midst of the Athenian camp by some discontented citizens, who intended the subversion of their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians, gave Aristides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occasion for all his prudence : not knowing exactly how many people might be concerned in this conspiracy, he contented himself with having eight of them taken up ; and of these eight, the only two whom he caused to be accused, because they had the most laid to their charge, made their escape out of the camp whilst their trial was preparing. There is no doubt but Aristides favoured their escape, lest he should be obliged to punish them, and their punishment might occasion some tumult and disorder. The others, who were in custody, he released, leaving them room to believe, that he had found nothing against them, and telling them, that the battle with the enemy should be the tribunal, where they might fully justify their characters, and shew the world how unlikely it was that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well-timed and wise dissimulation, which opened a door for repentance, and avoided driving the offenders to despair, appeased all the commotion, and quashed the whole affair.

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, sent out his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Megarians, who were encamped upon a plain, suffered extremely by them ; and, in spite of all the vigour and resolution with which they defended themselves, they were upon the point of giving way, when a detachment of three hundred Athenians, with some troops armed with missile weapons, advanced to their succour. Masistius, the general of the Persian horse, and one of the most considerable noblemen of his country, seeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians stood their ground, and waited to receive

^r Plut. in Arist. p. 326.

them. The shock was very fierce and violent, both sides endeavouring equally to shew, by the issue of this encounter, what would be the success of the general engagement. The victory was a long time disputed : but at last Masistius' horse being wounded, threw his master, who was quickly after killed ; upon which the Persians immediately fled. As soon as the news of his death reached the Barbarians, their grief was excessive. They cut off the hair of their heads, as also the manes of their horses and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having lost, in their opinion, the bravest man of their army.

After this encounter with the Persian cavalry, the two armies were a long time without coming to any action ; because the soothsayers and diviners, upon their inspecting the entrails of their victims, equally foretold both parties, that they should be victorious, provided they acted only upon the defensive ; whereas, on the other hand, they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offensively, or made the first attack.

They passed ten days in this manner in view of each other : But Mardonius, who was of a fiery impatient nature, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few days provision left for his army ; and the Grecians grew stronger every day by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He therefore called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle. Artabazus, a nobleman of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to supply the army with provisions and forage. He alleged, that delays alone would be capable of diminishing the ardour of the allies ; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw some of them off by gold and silver, which they would take care to distribute among the leaders, and among such as had the greatest sway and authority in their several cities ; and that, in short, this would be both the easiest and surest method of subjecting Greece. This opinion was very wise, but was over-ruled by Mardonius, whom the rest had not courage to contradict. The result therefore of their deliberations was, that they should give battle next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on the side of the Grecians in his heart, came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed.

Pausanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themselves for battle; and imparted to Aristides the design he had formed of changing his order of battle, by placing the Athenians in the right wing, instead of the left, in order to their opposing the Persians, with whom they had been accustomed to engage. Whether it was fear or prudence that induced Pausanias to propose this new disposition, the Athenians accepted it with pleasure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations, to acquit themselves bravely, bidding each other remember, that neither they nor their enemies were changed since the battle of Marathon, unless it were, that victory had increased the courage of the Athenians, and had dispirited the Persians. We do not fight, said they, as they do, for a country only or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamin, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of fortune, but the work of the Athenians. Encouraging one another in this manner, they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their post. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received of this movement, having made the like change in his order of battle, both sides ranged their troops again according to their former disposition. The whole day passed in this manner without their coming to action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from the place they were in, and march to another, more conveniently situated for water. Night being come on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their corps to make more haste than ordinary to the camp marked out for them, great confusion happened among the troops, some going one way and some another, without observing any order or regularity in their march. At last they halted near the little city of Platæa.

On the first news of the Grecians being decamped, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and pursued them with the hideous shouting and howling of his Barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not so much in order to fight, as to strip and plunder a flying enemy; and their general likewise, making himself sure of victory, proudly insulted Artabazus, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy; whereas here was an instance of the contrary. But the general quickly found this was no false or ill grounded notion. He happened to fall in with the La-

cedæmonians, who were alone and separated from the body of the Grecian army, to the number of fifty thousand men, together with three thousand of the Tegeatæ. The encounter was exceeding fierce and resolute: on both sides the men fought with the courage of lions; and the Barbarians perceived that they had to do with soldiers who were determined to conquer or die in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pausanias sent an officer, were already upon their march to their aid: but the Greeks, who had taken part with the Persians, to the number of fifty thousand men, went out to meet them on their way, and hindered them from proceeding any farther. Aristides, with his little body of men, bore up firmly against them, and withstood their attack, letting them see how insignificant a superiority of numbers is against true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, and fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke in upon the Persian forces, and put them into disorder. Mardonius, their general, falling dead of a wound he had received in the engagement, all his army betook themselves to flight; and those Greeks, who were engaged against Aristides, did the same thing, as soon as they understood the Barbarians were defeated. The latter ran away to their former camp, which they had quitted, where they were sheltered and fortified with an inclosure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued them thither, and attacked them in their intrenchment; but this they did poorly and weakly, like people that were not much accustomed to sieges, and to attack walls. The Athenian troops, having advice of this, left off pursuing their Grecian adversaries, and marched to the camp of the Persians, which after several assaults they carried, and made an horrible slaughter of the enemy.

Artabazus, who from Mardonius' imprudent management had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befell them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, and given all possible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded; and, preventing his flight from being known by the expedition of his march, he arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Asia. Of all the rest of the Persian army, not four thousand men escaped after that day's slaughter: all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themselves at once from all further invasions from that nation, no Persian army having ever appeared after that time on this side of the Hellespont.

^s This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month * Bœdromion, according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at their joint and common expences, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of the several nations of Greece that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the pedestal of the statue; the Lacedæmonians first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

^t One of the principal citizens of Ægina came and addressed himself to Pausanias, desiring him to avenge the indignity that Mardonius and Xerxes had shewn to Leonidas, whose dead body was hung up on a gallows by their order, and urging him to use Mardonius' body after the same manner. As a further motive for doing so, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those that were killed at Thermopylæ, he would be sure to immortalize his own name throughout all Greece, and make his memory precious to the latest posterity. "Carry thy base counsel elsewhere," replied Pausanias, "thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory "to imagine, that the way for me to acquire it is to resemble the Barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina "is not to be purchased but by such a proceeding, I shall "be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians only, "among whom the base and ungenerous spirit of revenge is "never put in competition with that of shewing clemency "and moderation to their enemies, and especially after their "death. As for the souls of my departed countrymen, they "are sufficiently avenged by the death of the many thousand Persians slain upon the spot in the last engagement."

^u A dispute, which arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, about determining which of the two people should have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as also which of them should have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have sullied all the glory and embittered the joy of their late victory. They were just on the point of carrying things to the last extremity, and would certainly have decided the difference with their swords, had not Aristides prevailed upon them, by the wisdom of his counsel and reasonings, to refer the determination of the matter to the judgement of the Grecians in general. This proposition being accepted by both

^s A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Paus. l. v. p. 532.
c. 77. 78. ^t Herod. l. ix.

^u Plut. in Arist. p. 431.

* This day answers to the eighth of our September.

parties, and the Greeks being assembled upon the spot to decide the contest, Theogiton of Megara, speaking upon the question, gave it as his opinion, that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to some other city; unless they desired to kindle a civil war, of more fatal consequences than that they had just put an end to. After he had finished his speech, Cleocrites of Corinth rose up to speak his sentiments of the matter: and when he began, nobody doubted but he was going to claim that honour for the city of which he was a member and a native; for Corinth was the chief city of Greece in power and dignity after those of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived when they found that all his discourse tended to the praise of the Plataeans, and that the conclusion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguish so dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, against whom neither of the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealousy. This discourse and proposal were received with a general applause by the whole assembly. Aristides immediately assented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

^x All parties being thus agreed, before they began to divide the spoil of the enemy, they put fourscore talents * aside for the Plataeans, who laid them out in building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a statue to her honour, and in adorning the temple with curious and valuable paintings, which were still in being at Plutarch's time, that is to say, above six hundred years afterwards, and which were then as fresh as if they had lately come out of the hand of the painters. As for the trophy, which had been another article of the dispute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themselves in particular, and the Athenians another.

The spoil was immense: in Mardonius' camp they found prodigious sums of money in gold and silver, besides cups, vessels, beds, tables, necklaces, and bracelets of gold and silver, not to be valued or numbered. It is observed by a certain historian †, that these spoils proved fatal to Greece, by becoming the instruments of introducing avarice and luxury among her inhabitants. According to the religious customs of the Grecians, before they divided the treasure,

^x Herod. l. ix. c. 79. 80.

* About L. 18,000 Sterling, or 80,000 crowns French.

† Victo Mardonio castra referta regalis opulentiae capta, unde primum Græcos, diviso inter se auro Persico, divitiarum luxuria cepit.—Justia. l. ii. c. 14

they appropriated the tythe or tenth part of the whole to the use of the gods : the rest was distributed equally among the cities and nations that had furnished troops ; and the chief officers who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle were likewise distinguished in this distribution. They sent a present of a golden tripod to Delphos, in the inscription upon which Pausanias caused these words to be inserted :
y “ That he had defeated the Barbarians at Platæa ; and
“ that, in acknowledgement of that victory, he had made
“ this present to Apollo.”

This arrogant inscription, wherein he ascribed the honour both of victory and the offering to himself only, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in order to punish his pride in the very point and place where he thought to exalt himself, as also to do justice to their confederates, caused his name to be razed out, and that of the cities which had contributed to the victory to be put in the stead of it. Too ardent a thirst after glory on this occasion did not give him leave to consider, that a man loses nothing by discreet modesty, which forbears the setting too high a value upon one's own services, and which, by screening a man from envy*, serves really to enhance his reputation.

Pausanias gave still a further specimen of his Spartan spirit and humour, in two entertainments which he ordered to be prepared a few days after the engagement ; one of which was costly and magnificent, in which was served all the variety of delicacies and dainties that used to be served at Mardonius' table ; the other was plain and frugal, after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two entertainments together, and observing the difference of them to his officers, whom he had invited on purpose : “ What a madness,” says he, “ was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a “ luxurious diet, to come and attack a people like us, who “ know how to live without all dainties and superfluities, and “ want nothing of that kind !”

^z All the Grecians sent to Delphos to consult the oracle, concerning the sacrifice it was proper to offer. The answer they received from the gods was, That they should erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator ; but that they should take care not to offer any sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted

y Cor. Nep. in Pausan. c. 1.

z Plut. in Arist. p. 331. 332.

* Ipsa dissimulazione famæ famam auxit.—TACIT.

and profaned by the Barbarians; and that they should come as far as Delphos to fetch pure fire, which they were to take from the altar, called the Common Altar.

This answer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately dispersed themselves throughout the whole country, and caused all the fires to be extinguished, and Euchidas, a citizen of Platæa, having taken upon himself to go and fetch the sacred fire with all possible expedition, made the best of his way to Delphos. On his arrival he purified himself, sprinkled his body with consecrated water, put on a crown of laurel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Platæa, where he arrived before the setting of the sun, having travelled a thousand stadia, which make an hundred and twenty-five miles English, in one day. As soon as he came back, he saluted his fellow-citizens, delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen carried away his body, and buried it in the temple of Diana, surnamed Euclæia, which signifies "of good renown," and put the following epitaph upon his tomb in the compass of one verse: "Here lies Euchidas, who went from hence to Delphos, and returned back the same day."

In the next general assembly of Greece, which was held not long after this occurrence, Aristides proposed the following decree: That all the cities of Greece should every year send their respective deputies to Platæa, in order to offer sacrifices to Jupiter Liberator, and to the gods of the city. This assembly was still regularly held in the time of Plutarch; that every five years there should be games celebrated there, which should be called the Games of Liberty; that the several states of Greece together should raise a body of troops, consisting of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and should equip a fleet of an hundred ships, which should be constantly maintained for making war against the Barbarians; and that the inhabitants of Platæa, entirely devoted to the service of the gods, should be looked upon as sacred and inviolable, and be concerned in no other function than that of offering prayers and sacrifices for the general preservation and prosperity of Greece.

All these articles being approved of and passed into a law, the citizens of Platæa took upon them to solemnize every year the anniversary festival in honour of those persons that were slain in this battle. The order and manner of perform-

ing this sacrifice was as follows : * The sixteenth day of the month Maimacterion, which answers to our month of December, at the first appearance of day-break, they walked in a solemn procession, which was preceded by a trumpet that sounded to battle. Next to the trumpeter marched several chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After these chariots was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young persons, carrying pitchers in their hands full of wine and milk, the ordinary effusions offered to the dead, and vials of oil and essence. All these young persons were freemen ; for no slave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was instituted for men who had lost their lives for liberty. In the rear of this pomip followed the Archon, or chief magistrate of the Platæans, for whom it was unlawful at any other time even so much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one. But upon this occasion, being clad in purple raiment, having a sword by his side, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place where they kept their public records, he marched quite through the city to the place where the tombs of his memorable countrymen were erected. As soon as he came there, he drew out water with his urn from the fountain, washed with his own hands the little columns that stood by the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with essence, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpose. After having offered up certain prayers to the terrestrial † Jupiter and Mercury, he invited those valiant souls deceased to come to their feast, and to partake of their funeral effusions ; then taking a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it out on the ground, and said with a loud voice, “ I present this cup to those valiant men, who ‘ died for the liberty of the Grecians.’ ” These ceremonies were annually performed even in the time of Plutarch.

^a Diodorus adds, that the Athenians in particular embellished the monuments of their citizens, who died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour, and appointed a solemn pa-

a Lib. xi. p. 26.

* Three months after the battle of Platæa was fought. Probably these funeral rites were not at first performed, till after the enemies were entirely gone, and the country was free.

† The terrestrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto ; and the same epithet of terrestrial was also given to Mercury ; because it was believed to be his office to conduct departed souls to the infernal regions.

negyric to be pronounced to the same intent, which in all probability was repeated every year.

The reader will be sensible, without my observing it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem, and gratitude, for soldiers who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage: and how exceeding proper all this was for cultivating and perpetuating a spirit of bravery in the people, and for making their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much surprised, on the other hand, to see how wonderfully careful and exact these people were in acquitting themselves on all occasions of the duties of religion. The great event which I have just been relating, viz. the battle of Platæa, affords us very remarkable proofs of this particular, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to Jupiter Liberator, which was still continued in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festival for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that success. It is a delightful thing, methinks, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publicly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations centre in the Supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the source from whence all salutary counsels, wisdom, and courage are derived, and as entitled on all these accounts to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their perpetual acknowledgements and thanksgiving for such distinguished favours and benefits.

SECTION X.

THE BATTLE NEAR MYCALE. THE DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.

ON ^b the same day the Greeks fought the battle of Platæa, their naval forces obtained a memorable victory in Asia over the remainder of the Persian fleet. For whilst that of the Greeks lay at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides,

^b Herod. l. ix. c. 89.—Diod. l. xi. p. 26.—28.

one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, ambassadors came to those generals from the Ionians, to invite them into Asia to deliver the Grecian cities from their subjection to the Barbarians. On this invitation they immediately set sail from Asia, and steered their course by Delos; where, when they arrived, other ambassadors arrived from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had passed the winter at Cumæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an easy matter to defeat and destroy it, earnestly pressing them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The Greeks hereupon sailed away directly for Samos. But the Persians, receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Asia, where their land-army, consisting of an hundred thousand men, who were the remainder of those that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before, was encamped. Here they drew their vessels ashore, which was a common practice among the ancients, and encompassed them round with a strong rampart. The Grecians followed them to the very place, and with the help of the Ionians defeated their land-army, forced their rampart, and burnt all their vessels.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the same day: and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the victory of Platæa was known at Mycale before the latter engagement was begun, though the whole Ægean sea, which requires several days sailing to cross it, was between these two places. But Diodorus, the Sicilian, explains to us this mystery. He tells us, that Leotychides, observing his soldiers to be much dejected for fear their countrymen at Platæa should sink under the numbers of Mardonius's army, contrived a stratagem to reanimate them; and that therefore, when he was just upon the point of making the first attack, he caused a rumour to be * spread among his troops, that the Persians were defeated at Platæa, though at that time he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.

* Xerxes, hearing the news of these two overthrows, left Sardis with as much haste and hurry, as he had done Athens before, after the battle of Salamin, and retired with great precipitation into Persia, in order to put himself, as far as

c. Diod. l. xi. p. 28.

* What we are told also of Paulus Æmilius' victory over the Macedonians, which was known at Rome the very day it was obtained, without doubt happened in the same manner.

he possibly could, out of the reach of his victorious enemies ^d. But before he set out, he gave orders that his people should burn and demolish all the temples belonging to the Grecian cities in Asia ; which order was so far executed, that not one escaped, except the temple of Diana at Ephesus ^e. He acted in this manner at the instigation of the Magi, who were professed enemies to temples and images. The second Zoroaster had thoroughly instructed him in their religion, and made him a zealous defender of it ^f. Pliny informs us, that Ostanes, the head of the Magi, and the Patriarch of that sect, who maintained its maxims and interests with the greatest violence, attended Xerxes upon this expedition against Greece ^g. This prince, as he passed through Babylon on his return to Susa, destroyed also all the temples in that city, as he had done those of Greece and Asia Minor : doubtless through the same principle, and out of hatred to the sect of the Sabæans, who made use of images in their divine worship, which was a thing extremely detested by the Magi. Perhaps, also, the desire of making himself amends for the charges of his Grecian expedition by the spoil and plunder of those temples, might be another motive that induced him to destroy them : for it is certain he found immense riches and treasure in them, which had been amassed together through the superstition of princes and people during a long series of ages.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had caused to be laid over that narrow passage, and which they supposed were still entire. But finding them broken by tempestuous weather, Leotychides and his Peloponnesian forces returned toward their own country. As for Xanthippus, he staid with the Athenians and their Ionian confederates, and they made themselves masters of Sestus and the Thracian Chersonesus ; in which places they found great booty, and took a vast number of prisoners. After which, before winter came on, they returned to their own cities.

From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Persians, and having entered into confederacy with the Grecians, most of them preserved their liberty during the time that empire subsisted.

^d Strab. l. i. p. 634.

^g Arrian. l. vii.

^e Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 29.

^f Plin. l. xxx. c. i.

SECTION XI.

THE BARBAROUS AND INHUMAN REVENGE OF AMESTRIS,
THE WIFE OF XERXES.

DURING the residence of Xerxes at Sardis ^h, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother Masistus, who was a prince of extraordinary merit, had always served the king with great zeal and fidelity, and had never done any thing to disoblige him. The virtue of this lady, and her great affection and fidelity to her husband, made her inexorable to all the king's solicitations. However, he still flattered himself, that by a profusion of favours and liberalities he might possibly gain upon her; and among other kind things he did to oblige her, he married his eldest son Darius, whom he intended for his successor, to Artainta, this princess' daughter, and ordered that the marriage should be consummated as soon as he arrived at Susa. But Xerxes, finding the lady still no less impregnable, in spite of all his temptations and attacks, immediately changed his object, and fell passionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's constancy and virtue. Whilst this intrigue was carrying on, Amestris, wife to Xerxes, made him a present of a rich and magnificent robe of her own making. Xerxes, being extremely pleased with this robe, thought fit to put it on, upon the first visit he afterwards made to Artainta; and in the conversation he had with her, he mightily pressed her to let him know what she desired he should do for her, assuring her, at the same time, with an oath, that he would grant her whatever she asked of him. Artainta, upon this, desired him to give her the robe he had on. Xerxes, foreseeing the ill consequence that would necessarily ensue his making her this present, did all that he could to dissuade her from insisting upon it, and offered her any thing in the world in lieu of it. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by the imprudent promise and oath he had made to her, he gave her the robe. The lady no sooner received it, but she put it on, and wore it publicly by way of trophy.

Amestris, being confirmed in the sospicions she had entertained, by this action, was enraged to the last degree. But, instead of letting her vengeance fall upon the daughter, who

^h A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Herod. l. ix. c. 107.—112.

was the only offender, she resolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpose, she waited until the grand feast, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth-day, and which was not far off; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, granted her whatever she demanded. This day then being come, the thing which she desired of his Majesty was, that the wife of Masistus should be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, and who was struck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, against whom he perceived his wife was so violently exasperated, at first refused her request, and endeavoured all he could to dissuade her from it. But not being able either to prevail upon her, or to act with steadiness and resolution himself, he at last yielded, and was guilty of the weakest and most cruel piece of complaisance that ever was acted, making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom, that had only been established to give occasion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence and generosity. In consequence, then, of this compliance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Amestris, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, ordered them to be cast to the dogs in her own presence, and then sent her home to her husband's house in that mutilated and miserable condition. In the mean time, Xerxes had sent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first gave him to understand, that he should be glad he would put away his wife, and to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in her stead. But Masistus, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himself to divorce her: whereupon Xerxes in a great wrath told him, that since he had refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his wife; and that he would teach him not to reject the offers his master had made him; and with this inhuman reply dismissed him.

This strange proceeding threw Masistus into the greatest anxiety; who, thinking he had reason to apprehend the worst of accidents, made all the haste he could home, to see what had passed there during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have just been de-

scribing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he assembled all his family, his servants and dependents, and set out with all possible expedition for Bactriana, whereof he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to raise an army and make war against the king, in order to avenge himself for his barbarous treatment. But Xerxes being informed of his hasty departure, and from thence suspecting the design he had conceived against him, sent a party of horse after him to pursue him ; which having overtaken him, cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do not know whether a more tragical example of revenge than I have now related, is to be found in history.

ⁱ There is still another action, no less cruel or impious than the former, related of Amestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be burnt alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods, out of compliance with a superstitious custom practised by the Persians.

^k Masistus being dead, Xerxes gave the government of Bactriana to his second son Hystaspes ; who being by that means obliged to live at a distance from the court, gave his younger brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of ascending the throne to his disadvantage, after the death of their father, as will be seen in the sequel.

Here ends Herodotus' history, viz. at the battle of Mycale, and the siege of the city of Sestus by the Athenians.

SECTION XII.

THE ATHENIANS REBUILD THE WALLS OF THEIR CITY,
NOTWITHSTANDING THE OPPOSITION OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

THE war ^l, commonly called the war of Media, which had lasted about two years, being terminated in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians returned to their own country, sent for their wives and children, whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, and began to think of rebuilding their city, which was almost entirely destroyed by the Persians, and to surround it with strong walls, in order to secure it from farther violence. The Lacedæmonians

ⁱ Herod. l. vii. c. 114. ^k Diod. l. x. p. 33. ^l A. M. 3526.
Ant. J. C. 478. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 59.—62. Diod. l. xi. p. 30. 31. Justin.
l. ii. c. 15.

having intelligence of this, conceived a jealousy, and began to apprehend, that Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, if it should go on to increase its strength by land also, might take upon her in time to give laws to Sparta, and to deprive her of that authority and pre-eminence which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest and safety required that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnesus, lest, in case of a second irruption, it should serve for a place of arms to the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves in it, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamin was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the true design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was gilded over with the specious pretext of public good; but, as the latter were able, with the assistance of their allies to hinder the Athenians by force from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply with their demands, he advised the senate to make use of cunning and dissimulation as well as they. The answer, therefore, they made their envoys was, that they should send an embassy to Sparta, to satisfy the commonwealth concerning their jealousies and apprehensions. Themistocles got himself to be nominated one of the ambassadors, and persuaded the senate not to let his colleagues set out along with him, but to send them one after another, in order to gain time for carrying on the work. The matter was executed pursuant to his advice: and he accordingly went alone to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days pass without waiting upon the magistrates, or applying to the senate. And, upon their pressing him to do it, and asking him the reason why he deferred it so long, he made answer, that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues, that they might all have their audience of the senate together, and seemed to be very much surprised that they were so long in coming. At length they arrived; but all came singly, and at a good distance of time one from another. During all this while, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost industry and vigour. The women, children, strangers, and slaves, were all employed in it: nor was it interrupted night or day. The Spartans were not ignorant of this matter, but made great complaints of it to Themistocles, who positively

denied the fact, and pressed them to send other deputies to Athens, in order to inform themselves better of the fact; desiring them not to give credit to loose and flying reports, without foundation. At the same time he secretly advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as so many hostages, until he and his colleagues were returned from their embassy, fearing, not without good reason, that they themselves might be served in the same manner at Sparta. At last, when all his fellow-ambassadors were arrived, he desired an audience, and declared in full senate, that it was really true the Athenians had resolved to fortify their city with strong walls; that the work was almost completed; that they had judged it to be absolutely necessary for their own security, and for the public good of the allies; telling them at the same time, that, after the great experience they had had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well suspect them of being wanting in their zeal for the common interest of their country; that, as the condition and privileges of all the allies ought to be equal, it was just the Athenians should provide for their own safety by all the methods they judged necessary, as well as the other confederates; that they had thought of this expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city against whomsoever should presume to attack it; and * that as for the Lacedæmonians, it was not much for their honour, that they should desire to establish their power and superiority rather upon the weak and defenceless condition of their allies, than upon their own strength and valour. The Lacedæmonians were extremely displeased with this discourse; but, either out of a sense of gratitude and esteem for their country, or out of a conviction that they were not able to oppose their enterprize, they dissembled their resentment; and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities.

m Themistocles, who had always his thoughts fixed upon raising and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the same vigorous application to finish the building and fortifications of the Piræus; for, from the time he entered into office, he had begun that great work. Before this time they had no other port at Athens but that of Phalerus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and

m Thucyd. p. 62 65. Diod. l. xi. p. 32. 35.

* Graviter castigat eos, quod non virtute, sed imbecillitate sociorum, potentiam quererent.—Justin. l. ii. c. 15.

consequently not capable of answering the great designs of Themistocles. For this reason he had cast his eye upon the Piræus, which seemed to invite him by its advantageous situation, and by the conveniency of its three spacious havens, which were capable of containing above four hundred vessels. This undertaking was prosecuted with so much diligence and vivacity, that the work was considerably advanced in a very little time. Themistocles likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels for the augmentation of their fleet: and in order to engage the greater number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour. His design was, as I have already observed, to make the whole force of Athens maritime; in which he followed a very different scheme of politics from what had been pursued by their ancient kings, who, endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from seafaring business and from war, and to make them apply themselves wholly to agriculture and to peaceable employments, published this fable: That Minerva, disputing with Neptune, to know which of them should be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, she gained her cause by shewing her judges the branch of an olive-tree, the happy symbol of peace and plenty, which she had planted; whereas Neptune had made a fiery horse, the symbol of war and confusion, rise out of the earth before them.

SECTION XIII.

THE BLACK DESIGN OF THEMISTOCLES REJECTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

THEMISTOCLESⁿ, who conceived the design of supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands, in order to put it into those of the Athenians, kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And as he was not very nice or scrupulous in the choice of his measures, whatever tended towards the accomplishing the end he had in view, he looked upon as just and lawful. On a certain day then he declared, in a full assembly of the people, that he had a very important design to propose, but that he could not communicate it to the people,

ⁿ Plut. in Themist. p. 121. 122. in Arist. p. 332.

because its success required it should be carried on with the greatest secrecy : he therefore desired they would appoint a person to whom he might explain himself upon the matter in question. Aristides was unanimously pitched upon by the whole assembly, who referred themselves entirely to his opinion of the affair ; so great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themistocles therefore having taken him aside, told him, that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and that by this means Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides hereupon returned to the assembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more advantageous to the commonwealth than Themistocles' project, but that at the same time nothing in the world could be more unjust. All the people unanimously ordained, that Themistocles should entirely desist from his project. We see in this instance, that the title of Just was not given to Aristides, even in his life-time, without some foundation : a title, says Plutarch, infinitely superior to all those which conquerors pursue with so much ardour, and which, in some measure, assimilates a man to the Divinity.

I do not know whether all history can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration than this. It is not a company of philosophers, to whom it costs nothing to establish fine maxims and sublime notions of morality in the schools, who determine on this occasion, that the consideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to what is honest and just. It is an entire people, who are highly interested in the proposal made to them, who are convinced that is of the greatest importance to the welfare of the state, and who however reject it with unanimous consent, and without a moment's hesitation, and that for this only reason, that it is contrary to justice. How black and perfidious, on the other hand, was the design which Themistocles proposed to them, of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, at a time of entire peace, solely to aggrandize the power of the Athenians ! Had he an hundred times the merits ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to sully all his glory. For it is the heart, that is to say, integrity and probity, that constitutes and distinguishes true merit.

I am sorry that Plutarch, who generally judges of things with great justness, does not seem, on this occasion, to condemn Themistocles. After having spoken of the works he

had effected in the Piræus, he goes on to the fact in question ; of which he says, ^o “ Themistocles projected something STILL “ GREATER for the augmentation of their maritime power.”

p The Lacedæmonians having proposed in the council of the Amphictyons, that all the cities which had not taken arms against Xerxes should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, who apprehended, that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans, were excluded that council, the Spartans would by that means become masters of the suffrages, and consequently determine all affairs according to their pleasure ; Themistocles, I say, made a speech in behalf of the cities they were for excluding, and brought the deputies that composed the assembly over to his sentiments. He represented to them, that the greatest part of the cities that had entered into the confederacy, which were but one and thirty in the whole, were very small and inconsiderable ; that it would therefore be very strange, as well as a very dangerous proceeding, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand assembly of the nation, and by that means suffer the august council of the Amphictyons to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the most powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the rest, and would subvert and abolish that equality of power, which was justly regarded as the basis and soul of all republics. Themistocles, by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, drew upon himself the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his professed enemies. He had also incurred the displeasure of the rest of the allies, by his having exacted contributions from them in too rigorous and rapacious a manner.

q When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt, the people finding themselves in a state of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by all sorts of methods to get the government into their hands, and to make the Athenian state entirely popular. This design of theirs, though kept as secret as possible, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of Aristides, who saw all the consequences with which such an innovation would be attended. But, as he considered on one hand, that the people were entitled to some regard on account of the valour they had shewn in all the late battles they had gained ; and on the other, that it would be no easy matter to curb and restrain a people who still in a manner had their arms in

^o Μεῖζον τι δύοθην.

p Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

q Plut. in Arist. p. 332.

their hands, and who were grown more insolent than ever from their victories; on these considerations, I say, he thought it proper to observe measures with them, and to find out some medium to satisfy and appease them. He therefore passed a decree, by which it was ordained that the government should be common to all the citizens, and that the Archons, who were the chief magistrates of the commonwealth, and who used to be chosen only out of the richest of its members, viz. from among those only who received at least five hundred mediums of grain out of the product of their lands, should, for the future, be elected indifferently out of all the Athenians without distinction. By thus giving up something to the people, he prevented all dissensions and commotions, which might have proved fatal, not only to the Athenian state, but to all Greece.

SECTION XIV.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS LOSE THE CHIEF COMMAND, THROUGH THE PRIDE AND ARROGANCE OF PAUSANIAS.

THE Grecians^r, encouraged by the happy success which had every where attended their victorious arms, determined to send a fleet to sea in order to deliver such of their allies as were still under the yoke of the Persians out of their hands. Pausanias was the commander of the fleet for the Lacedæmonians; and Aristides, and Cimon the son of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty: then steering towards the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, a great part of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia.

Pausanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, judged it proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he caused a report to be spread among his troops, that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night, and were fled: whereas he had set them at liberty himself, and sent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offercd to

^r A. M. 3528. Ant. J. C. 476. Thucyd. l. i. p. 63. 84.—86.

deliver the city of Sparta and all Greece into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable answer, and to send him very large sums of money also, in order to win over as many of the Grecians as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazus; and to the end that he might have it in his power to transact the matter with the greater ease and security, he made him governor of all the sea-coasts of Asia Minor.

^s Pausanias, who was already dazzled with the prospect of his future greatness, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and behaviour. The poor, modest, and frugal way of living at Sparta; their subjection to rigid and austere laws, which neither spared nor respected any man's person, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as to those of the meanest condition; all this, I say, became insupportable to Pausanias. He could not bear the thoughts of going back to Sparta, after his having been possessed of such high commands and employments, to return to a state of equality that confounded him with the meanest of the citizens; and this was the cause of his entering into a treaty with the Barbarians. Having done this, he entirely laid aside the manners and behaviour of his country; assumed both the dress and state of the Persians, and imitated them in all their expensive luxury and magnificence. He treated the allies with an insufferable rudeness and insolence; never spoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary and unusual honours to be paid to him; and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable, and obliging deportment of Aristides and Cimon; an infinite remoteness from all imperious and haughty airs, which only tend to alienate people and multiply enemies; a gentle, kind, and beneficent disposition, which shewed itself in all their actions, and which served to temper the authority of their commands, and to render it both easy and amiable; the justice and humanity conspicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no person whatsoever, and to do kind offices and services to all about them; all this, I say, hurt Pausanias exceedingly, by the contrast of their opposite characters, and exceedingly increased the general dis-

^s Plut. in Arist. p. 332. 333.

content. At last this dissatisfaction publicly broke out ; and all the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Aristides, says Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleness, which he opposed to the arrogance and roughness of Pausanias, and by inspiring Cimon his colleague with the same sentiments, insensibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians, without their perceiving it, and at length deprived them of the command ; not by open force, or by sending out armies and fleets against them, and still less by making use of any arts or perfidious practices, but by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable.

It must be confessed at the same time, that the Spartan people on this occasion shewed a greatness of soul and a spirit of moderation, that can never be sufficiently admired. For when they were convinced that their commanders grew haughty and insolent from their too great authority, they willingly renounced the superiority which they had hitherto exercised over the rest of the Grecians, and forbore sending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies ; chusing rather, adds the historian, to have their citizens wise, modest, and submissive to the discipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their pre-eminence and superiority over all the Grecian states.

SECTION XV.

PAUSANIAS' SECRET CONSPIRACY WITH THE PERSIANS. HIS DEATH.

Upon ^tthe repeated complaints the Spartan commonwealth received on all hands against Pausanias, they recalled him home to give an account of his conduct. But not having sufficient evidence to convict him of his having carried on a correspondence with Xerxes, they were obliged to acquit him on this first trial ; after which he returned of his own private authority, and without the consent and approbation of the republic, to the city of Byzantium, from whence he continued to carry on his secret practices with Artabazus. But, as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust pro-

^t A. M. 3522. Ant. J. C. 475. Thucyd. I. i. p. 96. 89. Died. I. xi. c. 4.—36. Cor. Nep. in Pausan.

ceedings whilst he resided there, the Athenians obliged him to leave the place; from whence he retired to Colonæ, a small city of Troas. There he received an order from the Ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, a public enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the summons, and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by dint of money. On his arrival he was committed to prison, and was soon afterwards brought again upon his trial before the judges. The charge brought against him was supported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and servc him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But, as it was the custom for the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan, without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge, they looked upon the evidence against him as insufficient; and the more so, as he was of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office; for Pausanias exercised the function of king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a second time, and set at liberty.

Whilst the Ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence against the offender, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, written by Pausanias himself to the king of Persia, which the slave was to have carried and delivercd to Artabazus. It must be observed by the way, that this Persian governor and Pausanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers they mutually sent to one another, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovcring their correspondence. The Argilian, who saw none of his fellow-servants that were sent expresses return back again, had some suspicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opencd the letter he was entrusted with, in which Artabazus was really desired to kill him, pursuant to their agreement. This was the letter the slave put into the hands of the Ephori; who still thought even this proof insufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it by the testimony of Pausanias himself. The slave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune in Tenaros, as to a secure asylum. Two small closets

were purposely made there, in which the Ephori and some Spartans hid themselves. The instant Pausanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he hastened thither to inquire the reason. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple to save his life. As Pausanias could not deny the fact, he made the best excuse he could; promised the slave a great reward; obliged him to promise not to mention what had passed between them to any person whatsoever. Pausanias then left him.

Pausanias' guilt was now but too evident. The moment he was returned to the city, the Ephori were resolved to seize him. From the aspect of one of these magistrates, he plainly perceived that some evil design was hatching against him, and therefore he ran with the utmost speed to the temple of Pallas, called Chalcioecos, near that place, and got into it before the pursuers could overtake him. The entrance was immediately stopped up with great stones, and history informs us, that the criminal's mother set the first example on that occasion. They now tore off the roof of the chapel; but as the Ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, because this would have been a violation of that sacred asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was starved to death. His corpse was buried not far from that place: but the oracle of Delphos, whom they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease the anger of the goddess, who was justly offended on account of the violation of her temple, two statues must be set up there in honour of Pausanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pausanias, whose wild and inconsiderate ambition had stifled in him all sentiments of probity, honour, love of his country, zeal for liberty, and of hatred and aversion for the Barbarians: sentiments which, in some measure, were inherent in all the Greeks, and particularly in the Lacedæmonians.

SECTION XVI.

THEMISTOCLES FLIES FOR SHELTER TO KING ADMETUS.

THEMISTOCLES^g was also charged with being an accomplice of Pausanias. He was then in exile. A passionate thirst of

^g Thucyd. i. p. 89, 90; Plut. in Themist. c. cxxiii. cxxiv. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. viii.

glory, and a strong desire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious to them. He had built, very near his house, a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, "To Diana, goddess of good counsel;" as hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counsel to their city, and to all Greece; and he also had placed his statue in it, which was standing in Plutarch's time. It appeared, says he, from this statue, that his physiognomy was as heroic as his valour. Finding that men listened with pleasure to all the calumnies his enemies spread against him, to silence them, he was for ever expatiating, in all public assemblies, on the services he had done his country. As they were at last tired with hearing him repeat this so often, "How!" says he to them, "are you weary of having good offices frequently done you by the same persons?" He did not consider, that putting them so often in mind * of his services, was in a manner reproaching them with their having forgot them, which was not very obliging; and he seemed not to know, that the surest way to acquire applause, is to leave the bestowing of it to others, and to resolve to do such things only as are praise-worthy; and that a frequent repetition of one's own virtue and exalted actions, is so far from appeasing envy, that it only inflames it.

^h Themistocles, after having been banished from Athens by the ostracism, withdrew to Argos. He was there when Pausanias was prosecuted as a traitor who had conspired against his country. He had at first concealed his machinations from Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends; but as soon as he was expelled his country, and had highly resented that injury, he disclosed his projects to him, and pressed him to join in them. To induce this compliance, he shewed him the letters which the king of Persia wrote to him; and endeavoured to animate him against the Athenians by painting their injustice and ingratitude in the strongest colours. However, Themistocles rejected with indignation the proposals of Pausanias, and refused peremptorily to engage in any manner in his schemes; but then he concealed what had passed between them, and did not discover the enterprise he had formed, whether it was that he imagined Pausanias would renounce it of himself, or was persuaded that it would be discovered some other way; it not being possible for so dangerous and ill-concerted an enterprise to take effect.

^h Plut. in Themist. p 112.

* Hoc molestum est. Nam est hæc commemoratio quasi exprobatio est immemoris beneficij.—Terent. in Andr.

After Pausanias' death, several letters and other things were found among his papers, which raised a violent suspicion of Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians sent deputies to Athens, to accuse and have sentence of death passed upon him; and such of the citizens who envied him joined these accusers. Aristides had now a fair opportunity of revenging himself on his rival, for the injurious treatment he had received from him, had his soul been capable of receiving so cruel a satisfaction. But he refused absolutely to join in so horrid a combination; as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had been before to regret his successes. Themistocles answered by letters all the calumnies with which he was charged; and represented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper being such as would not suffer him to be lorded over by others, it was highly improbable that he should have a design to deliver up himself, and all Greece, to enemies and Barbarians.

In the mean time the people, too strongly wrought upon by his accusers, sent some persons to seize him, that he might be tried by the council of Greece. Themistocles, having timely notice of it, went into the island of Corcyra, to whose inhabitants he had formerly done some service: however, not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Epirus, and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, out of despair he made a very dangerous choice, which was, to fly to Admetus king of Molossus for refuge. This prince, having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and being refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, had retained the deepest resentment on that account, and declared, that he would take the first opportunity to revenge himself. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy situation of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens was more to be feared than the ancient grudge of that king, was resolved to run the hazard of it. Being come into the palace of that monarch, upon being informed that he was absent, he addressed himself to the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner it was proper to make his request. Admetus being returned, Themistocles takes the king's son in his arms, seats himself on his hearth amidst his household gods, and there telling him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implores his clemency, owns that his life is in his hand, intreats him to forget the past; and represents to him, that no action can be

more worthy a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion in seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had made his palace his asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would be sacred and inviolable.

Whilst he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and to send them to him; for which that person was some time after seized, and condemned to die. With regard to Themistocles' effects, his friends secured the greatest part of them for him, which they afterwards found opportunity to remit him; but all that could be discovered, which amounted to an hundred * talents, was carried to the public treasury. When he entered upon the administration, he was not worth three talents. I shall leave this illustrious exile for some time at the court of king Admetus, to resume the sequel of this history.

SECTION XVII.

ARISTIDES' DISINTERESTED ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE. HIS DEATH AND EULOGIUM.

I HAVE before observed ^h, that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians. Hitherto the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contributed some sums of money towards the expence of carrying on the war against the Barbarians; but this repartition or division had always occasioned great feuds, because it was not made in a just or equal proportion. It was thought proper, under this new government, to lodge in the island of Delos, the common treasure of Greece; to fix new regulations with regard to the public monies; and to lay such a tax as might be regulated according to the revenue of each city and state; in order that, the expences being equally borne by the several individuals who composed the body of the allies, no one might have reason to murmur. The business was, to find a per-

^h Plut. in Arist. p. 333. 334. Diod. l. xi. p. 36.

* An hundred thousand crowns French, about L. 22,500 Sterling.

son of so honest and incorrupt a mind, as to discharge an employment of so delicate and dangerous a kind, the due administration of which so nearly concerned the public welfare. All the allies cast their eyes on Aristides; accordingly they invested him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on each of them, relying entirely on his wisdom and justice.

The citizens had no cause to repent their choice. * He presided over the treasury with the fidelity and disinterestedness of a man who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the smallest portion of another's possessions; with the care and activity of a father of a family, in the management of his own estate; and with the caution and integrity of a person who considers the public monies as sacred. In fine, he succeeded in what is equally difficult and extraordinary, viz. to acquire the love of all in an office in which he that escapes the public odium gains a great point. Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a person charged with an employment of almost the same kind, and the noblest eulogium that can be given such as administer public revenues. It is the exact picture of Aristides. He discovered so much probity and wisdom in the exercise of this office, that no man complained; and those times were considered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its highest pitch of virtue and happiness. And indeed, the tax, which he had fixed in the whole to four hundred and sixty † talents, was raised by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents: it was not that the expences of the war were increased, but the treasure was employed to very useless purposes, in manual distributions to the Athenians, in solemnizing of games and festivals, in building of temples and public edifices; not to mention, that the hands of those who superintended the treasury were not always clean and incorrupted, as those of Aristides. This wise and equitable conduct secured him, to latest posterity, the glorious surname of "the Just."

Nevertheless, Plutarch relates an action of Aristides, which shews that the Greeks (the same may be said of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of justice. They confined the exercise of it to the interior, as it were

* Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras; tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas. In officio amorem conqueraris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.—Senec. lib. de Brevit. Vit. cap. xviii.

† The talent is worth a thousand French crowns, or about L. 225 Sterling.

of civil society ; and acknowledged that the individuals were bound to observe strictly its several maxims : but with regard to their country, to the republic, their great idol, to which they reduced every thing, they thought in a quite different manner ; and imagined themselves essentially obliged to sacrifice to it, not only their lives and possessions, but even their religion and the most sacred engagements, in opposition to and contempt of the most solemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what follows.

ⁱ After the regulation had been made in respect to the tributes of which I have just spoken, Aristides, having settled the several articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to observe them punctually, and he himself swore in the name of the Athenians ; and in denouncing the curses which always accompanied the oaths, he threw into the sea, pursuant to the usual custom, large bars of red-hot iron. But the ill state of the Athenian affairs forcing them afterwards to infringe some of those articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he entreated them to vent those curses on him, and discharge themselves thereby of the punishment due to such as had forsworn themselves, and who had been reduced to it by the unhappy situation of their affairs. Theophrastus tells us, that in general (these words are borrowed from Plutarch) Aristides, who executed all matters relating to himself or the public with the most impartial and rigorous justice, used to act, in his administration, several things, according as the exigency of affairs, and the welfare of his country, might require ; it being his opinion, that a government, in order to support itself, is, on some occasions, obliged to have recourse to injustice ; of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in opposition to the articles of the treaty, the common treasures of Greece, which were deposited in Delos : the Samians having opened the debate ; when it was Aristides' turn to speak, he said, that the dislodging of the treasure was an unjust action, but useful, and made this opinion take place. The incident shews, that the pretended wisdom of the heathens was over-spread with great obscurity and error.

It was scarce possible to have a greater contempt for riches than Aristides had. Themistocles, who was not pleased with the encomiums bestowed on other men, hearing Aristides applauded for the noble disinterestedness with which he ad-

ⁱ Plut. in Vit. Arist. p. 333. 334.

ministered the public treasures, did but laugh at it; and said, that the praises bestowed upon him for it, shewed no greater merit or virtue than that of a strong chest, which faithfully preserves all the monies that are shut up in it; without retaining any. This low sneer was by way of revenge for a stroke of raillery that had stung him to the quick. Themistocles saying, that, in his opinion, the greatest talent a general could possess, was to be able to foresee the designs of an enemy, "This talent," replied Aristides, "is necessary; " but there is another no less noble and worthy a general; " that is, to have clean hands, and a soul superior to vanity and views of interest." Aristides might very justly answer Themistocles in this manner, since he was really very poor, though he had possessed the highest employments in the state. He seemed to have an innate love for poverty; and, so far from being ashamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the trophies and victories he had won. History gives us a shining instance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Aristides, and the most wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuser, laying very little stress on the cause itself, reproached him especially with permitting Aristides, his wife and children, to live in poverty, at a time when he himself wallowed in riches. Callias perceiving that these reproaches made a strong impression on the judges, he summoned Aristides to declare before them; whether he had not often pressed him to accept of large sums of money; and whether he had not obstinately refused to accept of his offer, with saying, That he had more reason to boast of his poverty, than Callias of his riches; that many persons were to be found who had made a good use of their wealth, but that there were few who bore their poverty with magnanimity, and even joy; and that none had cause to blush at their abject condition, but such as had reduced themselves to it by their idleness, their intemperance, their profusion, or dissolute conduct. ^k Aristides declared, that his kinsman had told nothing but the truth; and added, that a man whose frame of mind is such as to suppress a desire of superfluous things, and who confines the wants of life within the narrowest limits, besides its freeing him from a thousand unfortunate cares, and leaving him so much master of his time, as to devote it entirely to the public, it also assimilates him,

^k Plut. in Compar. Arist. et Caton. p. 355.

in some measure, to the Deity, who is wholly void of cares or wants. There was no man in the assembly, but, at his leaving it, would have chosen to be Aristides, though so poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.

Plutarch gives us, in few words, Plato's glorious testimony of Aristides' virtue, for which he looks upon him as infinitely superior to all the illustrious men his contemporaries. Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, says he, filled indeed their city with splendid edifices, with porticoes, statues, rich ornaments, and other vain superfluities of that kind; but Aristides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue: now, to raise a city to true happiness, it must be made virtuous, not rich.

Plutarch takes notice of another circumstance in Aristides' life, which, though of the simplest kind, reflects the greatest honour on him, and may serve as an excellent lesson. It is in the beautiful¹ treatise in which he inquires, whether it is proper for old men to concern themselves with affairs of government; and where he points out admirably well, the various services they may do to the state, even in an advanced age. We are not to fancy, says he, that all public services require great motion and hurry, such as, to harangue the people, to preside in the government, or head armies: an old man, whose mind is informed with wisdom, may, without going abroad, exercise a kind of magistracy in it, which, though secret and obscure, is not therefore the less important; and that is, in training up youth by good counsel, teaching them the various springs of policy, and how to act in public affairs. Aristides, adds Plutarch, was not always in office, but was always useful to it. His house was a public school of virtue, wisdom, and policy. It was open to all young Athenians, who were lovers of virtue, and these used to consult him as an oracle. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity; and endeavoured, above all things, to animate their courage, and inspire them with confidence. It is observed particularly, that Cimon, afterwards so famous, was obliged to him for this important service.

Plutarch * divided the life of statesmen into three ages. In

¹ Page 795.—797.

* He applies on this occasion the custom used in Rome, where the Vestals spent the first ten years in learning their office, and this was a kind of noviciate; the next ten years they employed in the exercise of their functions; and the last ten in instructing the young novices in them.

the first, he would have them learn the principles of government; in the second, reduce them to practice; and in the third, instruct others.

^m History does not mention the exact time when, nor place where, Aristides died; but then it pays a glorious testimony to his memory, when it assures us, that this great man, who had possessed the highest employments in the republic, and had the absolute disposal of its treasures, died poor, and did not leave money enough to defray the expences of his funeral: so that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and Lysimachus his son was subsisted at the expence of the Prytaneum; which also gave the daughter of the latter, after his death, the pension with which those were honoured who had been victorious at the Olympic games.

ⁿ Plutarch relates on this occasion, the liberality of the Athenians in favour of the posterity of Aristogiton their deliverer, who was fallen to decay; and he adds, that even in his time, almost six hundred years after, the same goodness and liberality still subsisted: it was glorious for the city, to have preserved, for so many centuries, its generosity and gratitude; and a strong motive to animate individuals, who were assured that their children would enjoy the rewards which death might prevent them from receiving! It was delightful to see the remote posterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their ancestors but the glory of their actions, maintained for so many ages at the expence of the public, in consideration of the services their families had rendered. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their ancestors with much greater splendour, than a multitude of citizens, whose fathers had been studious only of leaving them great estates, which generally did not long survive those who raised them, and often left their posterity nothing but the odious remembrance of the injustice and oppression by which they were acquired.

The greatest honour which the ancients have done Aristides, is in bestowing on him the glorious title of "the Just." He gained it, not by one particular action, but by the whole tenor of his conduct and actions. Plutarch makes a reflection on this occasion, which being very remarkable, I think it incumbent on me not to omit.

^m Plut. in Arist. p. 334. 335.

ⁿ Vid. Book V. Art. viii.

º Among the several virtues of Aristides, says this judicious author, that for which he was most renowned, was his justice; because this virtue is of most general use; its benefits extending to a greater number of persons: as it is the foundation, and in a manner the soul, of every public office and employment. Hence it was that Aristides, though in low circumstances, and of mean extraction, merited the title of Just; a title, says Plutarch, truly royal, or rather truly divine; but one of which princes are seldom ambitious, because generally ignorant of its beauty and excellency. They choose rather to be called ª the Conquerors of cities, and the Thunderbolts of war; and sometimes even eagles and lions; preferring the vain honour of pompous titles, which convey no other idea but violence and slaughter, to the solid glory of those expressive of goodness and virtue. They do not know, continues Plutarch, that of the three chief attributes of the Deity, of whom kings boast themselves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and justice; that of these three attributes, I say, the first of which excites our admiration and desire, the second fills us with dread and terror, and the third inspires us with love and respect, this last only is truly and personally communicated to man, and is the only one that can conduct him to the other two; it being impossible for man to become truly immortal and powerful, but by being just.

º Before I resume the sequel of this history, it may not be improper to observe, that it was about this period the fame of the Greeks, still more renowned for the wisdom of their polity than the glory of their victories, induced the Romans to have recourse to their lights and knowledge. Rome, formed under kings, was in want of such laws as were necessary for the good government of a commonwealth. * For this purpose the Romans sent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, and particularly of Athens, which were still better adapted to the popular government that had been established after the expulsion of the kings. On this model the ten magistrates, called Decemviri, and who were invested with absolute authority, were created: these digested the laws of the twelve tables, which are the basis of the Roman law.

º Plut. in Vit. Arist. p. 321. 322.

p Poliorcetes, Cerauni Nicanores.

q A. M. 3532. A. Rom. 302.

* Missi legati Athenas, jussique inclytas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores juraque noscere. Decem tabularum leges perlatæ sunt (quibus adjectæ postea duæ), qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias privataram legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris.—Liv. l. 3. n. 31. et 35.

SECTION XVIII.

DEATH OF XERXES, KILLED BY ARTABANUS.
HIS CHARACTER.

THE ill success of Xerxes in his expedition against the Greeks^r, and which continued afterwards, at length discouraged him. Renouncing all thoughts of war and conquest, he abandoned himself entirely to luxury and ease, and was studious of nothing but his pleasures. * Artabanus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, and who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that this dissolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his subjects. He therefore imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to conspire against his sovereign; and his ambition was so vast, that he flattered himself with the hopes of succeeding him in the throne^s. It is very likely, that he was excited to the commission of this crime from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldest son, but for what cause history is silent. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt but that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haste to obey it: however, he was mistaken, for the king complained upon that account, which made Artabanus dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to prevent him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and great chamberlain, to engage in his conspiracy; and by his means entered the chamber where the king lay, and murdered him in his sleep. He then went immediately to Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes. He informed him of the murder, charging Darius his eldest brother with it; as if impatience to ascend the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He added, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to keep upon his guard. These words having made such an impression on Artaxerxes, a youth, as Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted

^r A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 470. Ctes. c. ii. Diod. l. xi. p. 52. Justin. l. iii. c. 1. ^s Arist. Polit. l. v. c. 10. p. 404.

* This was not the Artabanus who was uncle to Xerxes.

by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes, Xerxes's second son, was next heir to the crown after Darius; but as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governor, Artabanus seated Artaxerxes on the throne, but did not design to suffer him to enjoy it longer than he had formed a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His great authority had gained him a multitude of creatures; besides this, he had seven sons, who were of a very tall stature, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But, whilst he was attempting to complete his design, Artaxerxes being informed of this plot by Megabysus, who had married one of his sisters, he endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his treason in execution. His death established this prince in the possession of the kingdom.

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would be needless for me to anticipate the reader with respect to the judgement he ought to form of him. We see him surrounded with whatever is greatest and most august in the opinion of mankind; the most extensive empire at that time in the world; immense treasures, and an incredible number of land as well as sea forces. But all these things are around him, not in him, and add no lustre to his natural qualities: for, by a blindness too common to princes and great men, born in the midst of all terrestrial blessings, heir to boundless power, and a lustre that had cost him nothing, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit from the exterior of his exalted station and rank. He disregards the wise counsels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who alone had courage enough to speak truth to him; and he abandons himself to courtiers, the adorers of his fortune, whose sole study it was to soothe his passions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate, the success of his enterprises by the extent of his power. The slavish submission of so many nations no longer soothes his ambition; and little affected with too easy an obedience, he takes pleasure in exercising his power over the elements, in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chastising the sea for having broken down his bridge, and in foolishly attempting to shackle the waves, by throwing chains into them. Big-swoln with a childish vanity and a ridicu-

lous pride, he looks upon himself as the arbiter of nature: he imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to wait his arrival; and fondly and presumptuously relies on the millions of men and ships which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamin, he beholds the sad ruins, the shameful remains of his numberless troops scattered over all Greece *, he then is sensible of the wide difference between an army and a crowd of men. In a word, to form a right judgement of Xerxes, we need but contrast him with a citizen of Athens, a Miltiades, Themistocles, or Aristides. In the latter we find all the good sense, prudence, ability in war, valour, and greatness of soul; in the former we see nothing but vanity, pride, obstinacy; the meanest and most grovelling sentiments, and sometimes the most horrid barbarity.

* Stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba distaret.—Senec. de Benef. l. vi. c. 32.

BOOK SEVENTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

PLAN.

THE first and third chapters of this book include the history of the Persians and Grecians during forty-eight years and some months, which contain the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; the last six years of which answer to the six first of the Peloponnesian war. This space of time begins at the year of the world three thousand five hundred and thirty-one, and ends at three thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

The second chapter comprehends the other transactions of the Greeks, which happened both in Sicily and Italy, during the interval above mentioned.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter includes the history of the Persians and Greeks, from the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign to the Peloponnesian war, which began in the forty-second year of that king's reign.

SECTION I.

ARTAXERXES RUINS THE FACTION OF ARTABANUS, &c.

THE Greek historians give this prince the surname of Longimanus. Strabo ^a says, it was because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but according to Plutarch ^b, it was because his right hand was longer than his left. Had it not been for this blemish, he would have been the most graceful man of his age. He was still more remarkable for his goodness and generosity. He reigned about forty-nine years.

^a Lib. xv. p. 735. A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473. ^b In Artax. p. 1011.

^c Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there still were two obstacles in his way, before he could establish himself in the quiet possession of his throne; one of which was, his brother Hystaspes, governor of Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who assembled to revenge his death. These, and the adherents of Artaxerxes, fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Persian nobles lost their lives. Artaxerxes having at last entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conspiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of those who was concerned in his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch, who had betrayed him, and who was executed in the following manner. He^d was laid on his back in a kind of horse-trough, and strongly fastened to the four corners of it. Every part of him, except his head, his hands, and feet, which came out at holes made for that purpose, was covered with another trough. In this horrid situation victuals were given him from time to time; and in case of his refusal to eat it, they were forced down his throat: honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was smeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberless multitude of flies, especially as he was perpetually exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed upon his bowels. The criminal lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torments.

Artaxerxes^e having crushed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to send an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not successful on this occasion. The two armies engaging, Hystaspes stood his ground so well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at least sustained no loss; so that both armies separated with equal success; and each retired to prepare for a second battle. Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, not to mention that the whole empire declared in his favour, defeated him in a second engagement, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire.

To^f maintain himself in the throne, he removed all such governors of cities and provinces from their employments, as

^c Ctes. c. 30. ^d Plut. in Artax. p. 1019. ^e Ctes. c. 31. ^f Diod. I. xl. p. 54.

he suspected to hold a correspondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and substituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming the abuses and disorders which had crept into the government. By his wise conduct and zeal for the public good, he soon acquired great reputation and authority, with the love of his subjects, the strongest support of sovereign power.

S E C T I O N II.

THEMISTOCLES FLIES TO ARTAXERXES.

ACCORDING to Thucydides ^g, Themistocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predecessor. Dr Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewise thinks, that the Artaxerxes in question is the same with him who is called Ahasuerus in scripture, and who married Esther; but we suppose, with the learned Archbishop Usher, that it was Darius the son of Hystaspes who espoused this illustrious Jewess. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controversies of this kind; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themistocles into Persia, and the history of Esther, I shall follow the opinion of the learned Usher, my usual guide on these occasions.

We ^h have seen that Themistocles had fled to Admetus king of the Molossi, and had met with a gracious reception from him; but the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to live in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatening, in case of refusal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw such formidable enemies upon himself, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was exposed, and favoured his flight. Themistocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ship, which was sailing to Ionia. None of the passengers knew him. A storm having carried this vessel near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians, the imminent danger to which Themistocles was exposed, obliged him to discover himself to the pilot and master of

^g A. M. 3531. ^h Thueyd. l. i. p. 90. 91. Plut. in Themist. p. 125.—127. Diod. l. xi. p. 42.—44. Cor. Nep. in Themist. c. 8.—10.

the ship ; after which, by entreaties and menaces, he forced them to sail towards Asia.

^h Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind the advice which his father had given him when an infant, viz. to lay very little stress on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father pointing to some rotten gallies that lay neglected on the strand, “ Behold there,” says he, “ son,” pointing to them, “ thus do the people treat their governors, when they can “ do them no further service.”

He was now arrived in Cumæ, a city of Æolia, in Asia Minor. The king of Persia had set a price upon his head, and promised two hundred * talents to any man who should deliver him up. The whole coast was covered with people, who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whose house he lodged. He was the most wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Persian court. Themistocles was concealed some days in his house, till Nicogenes sent him under a strong guard to Susa, in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians, who were extremely jealous, used to carry their wives ; those who carried him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great distinction.

Being come to the Persian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him to audience, having matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king ; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. “ Our laws,” says he, “ command “ us to honour the king in that manner, and to worship him “ as the living image of the immortal God, who maintains “ and preserves all things.” Themistocles promised to comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner ; and afterwards rising up, “ Great King †,” says he by an interpreter, “ I am “ Themistocles the Athenian, who having been banished by

^h Plut. in Themist. p. 112.

* Two hundred thousand crowns, or about L. 45,000 Sterling.

† Thucydides makes him say very near the same words ; but informs us that Themistocles did not speak them to the king, but sent them by way of letter before he was introduced to him.

“ the Greeks, am come to your court in hopes of finding an
 “ asylum in it. I have indeed brought many calamities on
 “ the Persians ; but, on the other side, I have done them no
 “ less services, by the salutary advices I have given them more
 “ than once ; and I now am able to do them more impor-
 “ tant services than ever. My life is in your hands. You
 “ may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance ;
 “ by the former you will preserve your suppliant ; by the
 “ latter you will destroy the greatest enemy of Greece.”

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his great sense and boldness ; but history informs us, he told his friends, that he considered Themistocles' arrival as a very great happiness ; that he implored his god Arimanus always to inspire his enemies with such thoughts, and to prompt them to banish and make away with their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when the king was asleep, he started up three times in excess of joy, and cried thrice, “ I have got Themistocles the Athenian !”

The next morning, at day-break, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who expected nothing but destruction ; especially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had said to him the night before, even in the presence-chamber, just as he had left the king : “ Thou serpent of “ Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good “ genius of our prince brings thee hither !” However, the serenity which appeared in the king's face seemed to promise him a favourable reception. Themistocles was not mistaken, for the king began by making him a present of two hundred * talents, which sum he had promised to any one who should deliver him up, which consequently was his due, as Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. He afterwards desired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themistocles could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired time might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue ; hoping he should then be able to explain those things he was desirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third person. It is the same, says he, with the speech of a man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be spread out and unfolded,

* Two hundred thousand French crowns, or about L. 45,000 Sterling.

to shew the figures and other beauties wrought in it. Themistocles, having studied the Persian tongue twelve months, made so great a progress, that he spoke it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves, and consequently could converse with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince treated him with uncommon marks of friendship and esteem ; he made him marry a lady descended from one of the noblest families in Persia ; gave him a palace and an equipage suitable to it, and settled a noble pension on him. He used to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and every banquet and entertainment ; and sometimes conversed privately with him, so that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy on that account. He even presented him to the princesses, who honoured him with their esteem, and received his visits. It is observed, as a proof of the peculiar favour shewed him, that by the king's special order, Themistocles was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

Another proof of his great credit is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to ask any thing of him, he desired that he might be suffered to make his entry on horseback, into the city of Sardis, with the royal tiara on his head : a ridiculous vanity ! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the simplicity of a Lacedæmonian ! The king, exasperated at the insolence of his demand, expressed his disgust in the strongest terms, and seemed resolved not to pardon him ; but Themistocles having interceded, the king restored him to favour.

In fine, Themistocles was in such great credit, that under the succeeding reigns, in which the affairs of Persia were still more mixed with those of Greece, whenever the kings were desirous of drawing over any Greek to their interest, they used to declare expressly in their letters, that he should be in greater favour with them than Themistocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

It is said also, that Themistocles, when in his most flourishing condition in Persia, was honoured and esteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their court to him, said one day, when his table was covered magnificently, " Children, we should have been ruined, if we had not been " ruined."

But at last, as it was judged necessary for the king's interest that Themistocles should reside in some city of Asia Minor, that he might be ready on any occasion which could

present itself; accordingly he was sent to Magnesia, situated on the Meander; and for his subsistence, besides the whole revenues of that city, which amounted to fifty * talents every year, had those of Myunte and Lampsacus assigned him. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another with wine, and a third with other provisions. Some authors add two more, viz. for his furniture and clothes. Such was the custom of the ancient kings of the east: instead of settling pensions on persons they rewarded, they gave them cities, and sometimes even provinces, which, under the name of bread, wine, &c. were to furnish them abundantly with all things necessary for supporting, in a magnificent manner, their family and equipage. Themistocles lived for some years in Magnesia in the utmost splendour, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

S E C T I O N III.

CIMON BEGINS TO MAKE A FIGURE AT ATHENS.

THE Athenians ^h having lost one of their most distinguished citizens, as well as ablest generals, by the banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loss, by bestowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.

He spent his youth in such excesses as did him no honour, and presaged no good with regard to his future conduct. ⁱ The example of this illustrious Athenian, who passed his juvenile years in so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted a pitch of glory, shews, that parents must not always despair of the happiness of a son, when wild and irregular in his youth; especially when nature has endued him with genius, goodness of heart, generous inclinations, and an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn upon himself having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them; when, being discouraged by this repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts of concerning himself with the affairs of the public. But Aristides, perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind was united with many fine qualities, he consoled him, inspired him with hope, pointed

^h A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Diod. l. xi. p. 45. Plut. in Cim. p. 482.
483. ⁱ Plut. in Cim. p. 480.

* Fifty thousand crowns, or about L. 11,250 Sterling.

out the paths he should take, instilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent instructions he gave him, and the affection he expressed for him on all occasions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important service could he have done his country !

^k Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagancies, his conduct was in all things great and noble ; and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage or intrepidity, nor to Themistocles in prudence and sense, but that he was more just and virtuous than either of them ; and that, without being at all inferior to them in military virtues, he surpassed them far in the practice of the moral ones.

It would be of great advantage to a state, if those who excel in professions of every kind, would take pleasure, and make it their duty to fashion and instruct such youths as are remarkable for the pregnancy of their parts and goodness of disposition. They would thereby have an opportunity of serving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating in it, and in the person of their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themistocles had left his country, having put to sea a fleet under the command of Cimon the son of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace; and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and sent ten thousand Athenians thither for that purpose.

^l The fate of Eion is of too singular a kind to be omitted here. Boges * was governor of it under the king of Persia, and acted with such a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, as have few examples. When besieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and he might have retired to Asia with his family and all his effects. However, being persuaded he could not do this with honour, he resolved to die rather than surrender. The city was assaulted with the utmost fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw from the walls into the river Strymon all the gold and silver in the place ; and causing fire to be set to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children,

^k Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

^l Herod. l. vii. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

* Plutarch calls him Butis. Herodotus seems to place this history under Xerxes ; but it is more probable that it happened under Artaxerxes, his successor.

and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flames, and afterwards rushed into them himself. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprising an example of generosity. The heathens, indeed, might give this name to what is rather savage ferocity and barbarity.

Cimon made himself master also of the island of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theseus, the son of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that search should be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, near eight hundred years after Theseus had left it. The people received them with the highest expressions of joy; and to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they founded a disputation or prize for tragic writers, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragic poets, whose pieces were represented in it. For Sophocles having, in his youth, brought his first play on the stage, the Archon, or chief magistrate, who presided at these games, observing there was a strong faction among the spectators, prevailed with Cimon, and the rest of the generals his colleagues, who were ten in number, and chosen out of each tribe, to sit as judges. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles, which so deeply afflicted Eschylus, who till then had been considered as the greatest dramatic poet, that Athens became insupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

^m The confederates had taken a great number of Barbarian prisoners in Sestes and Byzantium; and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, entreated him to distribute the booty. Accordingly Cimon placed all the captives, stark naked, on one side, and on the other all their riches and spoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Persians, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore set out with his portion, and was thought a person no ways qualified to settle the distribution of prizes: for the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces, and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks; whilst the Athenians had only for their share,

^m Plut. in Cim. p. 484.

a multitude of human creatures, quite naked and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of these captives came soon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchased them all at a very high price; so that, with the monies arising from the ransom of them, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months; besides a great sum of money which was put into the exchequer, not to mention what he himself had for his own share. He afterwards used to take exceeding pleasure in relating this adventure to his friends.

ⁿ He made the best use of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetor has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words: “ * Cimon,” says he, “ amassed riches only to use them; “ and he employed them to no other use, but to acquire es-“ teem and honour.” We may here perceive, by the way, what was the scope and aim of the most exalted actions of the heathens; and with what justice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect soever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, “ animal gloriae.” The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general, who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleased. His table was daily covered in a frugal but polite manner. It was entirely different from those delicate and sumptuous tables, to which only a few persons of great distinction are admitted; and which are covered merely to display a vain magnificence or elegance of taste. Now, that of Cimon was plain, but abundant; and all the poor citizens were received at it without distinction. In thus banishing from his entertainments whatever had the least air of ostentation and luxury, he reserved to himself an inexhaustible fund, not only for the expences of his house, but for the wants of his friends, his domestics, and a very great number of citizens; demonstrating by this conduct, that he knew much better than most rich men the true use and value of riches.

He was always followed by some servants, who were ordered to slip privately some piece of money into the hands of such poor as they met, and to give clothes to those who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expences of their funeral: and what is admirable, and which Plutarch does not fail to observe, he did not act in this manner to gain

ⁿ Plut. in Cim. p. 484. Cornel. Nep. in Cim. c. iv. Athen. l. xii. p. 533.
* Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χεῖματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο, χεῖματα δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

credit among the people, nor to purchase their voices ; since we find him, on all occasions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most considerable for their wealth or authority.

^o Although he saw all the rest of the governors of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the public, he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never stained with extortion, or the smallest present ; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to speak, but to act spontaneously, and without the least view of interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

Besides a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon had the finest sense, extraordinary prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and characters of men. The allies, besides the sums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several among them, who, from the retreat of Xerxes, were studious of nothing but their ease, and applied themselves entirely to tilling and cultivating their lands, to free themselves from the toils and dangers of war, chose to furnish their quota in money rather than in men, and left the Athenians the care of manning with soldiers and rowers, the ships they were obliged to furnish. The other generals, who had no forecast and penetration for the future, gave such people some uneasiness at first, and were for obliging them to observe the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and suffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they chose ; plainly perceiving that the allies, from being warlike in the field, would insensibly lose their martial spirit, and be fit for nothing but husbandry and trade ; whilst the Athenians, by exercising the oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to hardships, and daily increase in power. What Cimon had foreseen happened ; this very people purchased themselves masters at their own expence ; so that they who before had been companions and allies, became in some measure the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

^p No Grecian general ever gave so great a blow to the pride and haughtiness of the Persian monarch, as Cimon. After the Barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath, but sailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ships, took

^o Plut. in Cim. p. 485. p A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 485.—487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66. Diod. l. xi. p. 45.—47.

their strongest cities, and brought over all their allies ; so that the king of Persia had not one soldier left in Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still pursuing his point, he bravely attacked the enemy's fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Erymedon, and consisted of three hundred and fifty sail of ships, supported by the land-army on the coast. It was soon put to flight, and two hundred sail were taken, besides those that were sunk. A great number of the Persians had left their ships, and leaped into the sea, in order to join their land-army, which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy ; and to lead on troops which were already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number. However, Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the Barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. Accordingly he landed *, and marched them directly against the Barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with prodigious valour ; however, being at last obliged to give way, they broke and fled. A great slaughter ensued, and an infinite number of prisoners and immensely rich spoils were taken. Cimon having, in one day, gained two victories which almost equalled those of Salamis and Platæa, to crown all, sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ships, which were come from Cyprus, to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon, having atchieved such glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens, and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in the field, are applied to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner ; and must reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must one time or other devolve to strangers ; whereas works, built for public use, are his property in some measure for ever, and transmit his name to the latest posterity. ^q It is well known that such embellishments in a city

^q Plut. de Gerend. Rep. p. 818.

* We do not find that the ancients made use of long boats in making descents : the reason of which perhaps was, that, as their galleys were flat bottomed, they were brought to shore without any difficulty.

give infinite pleasure to the people, who are always struck with works of this kind; and this, as Plutarch observes in the life of Cimon, is one of the surest, and, at the same time, the most lawful method of acquiring their friendship and esteem.

^r The year following, this general sailed towards the Hellespont; and having driven the Persians out of the Thracian Chersonesus, of which they had possessed themselves, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himself had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been its sovereign. He afterwards attacked the people of the island of Thasus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. These maintained their revolt with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. ^s As if they had been in arms against the most cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worst of evils to fear, they made a law, that the first man who should only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, should be put to death. The siege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war with the same obstinacy. ^t The women were no less inflexible than the men; for, when the besieged wanted ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair in a seeming transport; and when the city was in the utmost distress by famine, which swept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegedorides the Thasian, deeply afflicted with seeing such multitudes of his fellow-citizens perish, resolutely determined to sacrifice his life for the preservation of his country. Accordingly he put a halter round his neck, and presenting himself to the assembly, "Countrymen," says he, "do with me as you please, and do not spare me if you judge proper; but let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so contrary to your welfare." The Thasians, struck with these words, abolished the law, but would not suffer it to cost so generous a citizen his life; for they surrendered themselves to the Athenians, who spared their lives, and only dismantled their city.

After Cimon had landed his troops on the shore opposite to Thrace, he seized on all the gold mines of those coasts, and subdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conquest of that kingdom; and, in all probability, could have easily possessed

^r Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66. 67. Diod. l. xi. p. 53.

^s Polyæn. Str. l. ii.

^t Polyæn. l. viii.

himself of part of it had he improved the occasion. And indeed, for his neglect in this point, at his return to Athens, he was prosecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians, and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a soul superior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the clearest light.

^u The conquests of Cimon, and the power of the Athenians, which increased every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences of it, he resolved to send Themistocles into Attica with a great army, and accordingly proposed it to him.

Themistocles was in great perplexity on this occasion. On one side, the remembrance of the favours the king had heaped upon him ; the positive assurances he had given that monarch, to serve him with the utmost zeal on all occasions ; the earnestness of the king, who claimed his promise; all these considerations would not permit him to refuse the commission. On the other side, the love of his country, which the injustice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could not banish from his mind ; his strong reluctance to sully the glory of his former laurels and mighty achievements by so ignominious a step ; perhaps too, the fear of being unsuccessful in a war, in which he should be opposed by excellent generals, and particularly Cimon, who seemed to be as successful as valiant ; these different reflections would not suffer him to declare against his country, in an enterprise, which, whether successful or not, would reflect shame on himself.

To rid himself at once of all these inward struggles, he resolved to put an end to his life *, as the only method for him not to be wanting in the duty he owed his country, nor to the promises he had made that prince. He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends ; when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell of them, he drank bull's blood, or, according to others, swallowed a dose of poison, and died in this manner at Magnesia, aged threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent either in the government of the republic, or the command of the armies. ^x When the king was told the cause and manner of his death, he esteemed and admired him still more, and continued his favour to his

^u A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466. Thucyd. I. i. p. 92. Plut. in Themist. p. 127. ^x Cic. de Senec. n. 72.

* The wisest Heathens did not think that a man was allowed to lay violent hands on himself.

friends and domestics. But the unexpected death of Themistocles proved an obstacle to the design he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the public square, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near six hundred years after, and his tomb was still standing.

^y Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which some writers ascribe to Themistocles, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man had poisoned himself, had added all the other particulars to embellish the story, which otherwise would have been very dry and uninteresting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was an Athenian, and almost contemporary with Themistocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, where, in ^z Pausanias' time, his mausoleum was standing near the great harbour. This account seems much more probable than the other.

Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. He had a great soul, and invincible courage, which danger even inflamed; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which sometimes his country's love would temper and allay, but which sometimes carried him too far; * his presence of mind was such, that it immediately suggested whatever it was most necessary to act: in fine, he had a sagacity and penetration with regard to futurity, that revealed to him, in the clearest light, the most secret designs of his enemies; pointing out to him at a distance, the several measures he should take to disconcert them, and inspired him with great, noble, bold, extensive views, with regard to the honour of his country. The most essential qualities of the mind were however wanting in him; I mean sincerity, integrity, and fidelity: nor was he altogether free from suspicions of avarice, which is a great blemish in such as are charged with public affairs.

^a Nevertheless, a noble sentiment as well as action are

^y Brut. n. 42. 43. ^z Lib. i. p. 1. ^a Plut. in Themist. p. 121.

* De instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissime judicabat, et de futuris calidisimè conjiciebat.—Cor. Nep. in Themist. c. 1.

related of him, which speak a great and disinterested soul.
 * His daughter being asked of him in marriage, he preferred an honest poor man to a rich one of a different character; and gave for his reason, “ That in the choice of a son-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit.”

SECTION IV.

THE EGYPTIANS RISE AGAINST PERSIA, SUPPORTED BY THE ATHENIANS.

ABOUT this time the Egyptians^b, to free themselves from a foreign yoke, which was insupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king. They demanded aid of the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ships at the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleasure, and immediately set sail for Egypt; judging this a very favourable opportunity to weaken the power of the Persians, by driving them out of so great a kingdom.

c Advice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raised an army of three hundred thousand men, and resolved to march in person against the rebels. But his friends advising him not to venture himself in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Persian fleet, and either destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, they went again up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimi their general, and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that Persian general and an hundred thousand of his soldiers were slain. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of two quarters of the city; but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the White Wall, which was the strongest and largest of the three, they

^b A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466. Thucyd. l. i. p. 68. 71. 72. Ctes. c. 32.—35. Diod. l. xi. p. 54.—59. ^c A. M. 3545. Ant. J. C. 459.

* Themistocles, cum consuleretur utrum bono viro pauperi an minus probato diviti, filiam collocaret: EGO VERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGEAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUÆ VIRO.—Cic. de Offic. l. ii. c. 71.

were besieged in it three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they at last were delivered by the forces sent to their aid.

Artaxerxes ^d hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it; to make a diversion of their forces, and oblige them to turn their arms another way, he sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to declare war against the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not abate his ardour; and accordingly he ^e gave Megabysus and Artabazus the command of the forces designed against Egypt. These generals immediately raised an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. ^f Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and sailed toward the Nile, whilst Megabysus, at the head of the land-army, marched towards Memphis. He raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated; but the Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in this slaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabysus, retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians as were willing to follow him, and reached Biblos, a city in the island of Prosopitis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, and both navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a siege of a year and a half in this island.

After the battle, all the rest of Egypt submitted to the conqueror, and was re-united to the empire of Artaxerxes, except Amyrteus, who had still a small party in the fens, where he long supported himself, through the difficulty the Persians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

The siege of Prosopitis was still carrying on. ^g The Persians finding that they made no advances in attacking it after the usual methods, because of the statagems and intrepidity of the besieged, they therefore had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, which soon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the course, by different canals, of the arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by that means opened themselves a passage for their whole ar-

^d A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 458.

^e A. M. 3547. Ant. J. C. 557.

^f A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

^g A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

my to enter the island. Inarus, seeing that all was lost, compounded with Megabyssus for himself, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and surrendered on condition that their lives might be spared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of six thousand men, resolved to hold out longer; and for this purpose they set fire to their ships, and drawing up in order of battle, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refused to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Persians, hearing they had taken so desperate a resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promise that they all should be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free passage to their native country either by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, put the conquerors in possession of Biblos and of the whole island, and went by sea to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but most of the soldiers who had served in this expedition perished in it.

But this was not the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty ships, which they sent to the aid of their besieged countrymen, sailed up one of the arms of the Nile, just after the Athenians had surrendered, to disengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the instant they entered, the Persian fleet which kept out at sea, followed them, and attacked their rear, whilst the army discharged showers of darts upon them from the banks of the river: Thus only a few ships escaped, which opened themselves a way through the enemy's fleet, and all the rest were lost. Here ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for six years in Egypt, which kingdom was now again united to the Persian empire, and continued so during the rest of the reign of Artaxerxes, of which this is the twentieth year. But the prisoners ^b who were taken in this war met with the most unhappy fate.

SECTION V.

INARUS IS DELIVERED UP TO THE KING'S MOTHER. MEGABYSUS' AFFLICTION AND REVOLT.

ARTAXERXES ^c, after refusing to gratify the request of his mother, who for five years together had been daily importun-

A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454. c A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 448. Ctes. c. xxxv.-xl.

ing him to put Inarus and his Athenians into her hands, in order that she might sacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her son, at last yielded to her solicitations. But how blind, how barbarously weak, must this king have been, to break through the most solemn engagements merely through complaisance; who, deaf to remorse, violated the law of nations, solely to avoid offending a most unjust mother!^d This inhuman princess, without regard to the faith of solemn treaties, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest. Megabysus was in the deepest affliction on that account; for as he had promised that no injury should be done them, the affront reflected principally on him. He therefore left the court and withdrew to Syria, of which he was governor; and his discontent was so great that he raised an army, and revolted openly.

^e The king sent Osiris, who was one of the greatest lords of the court, against him, with an army of two hundred thousand men. Megabysus engaged Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Osiris, Megabysus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.

^f The next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him, the command of which he gave to Menostanes, son to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former. He also was defeated and put to flight, and Megabysus gained as signal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes, finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, sent his brother Artarius, and Amytis his sister, who was the wife of Megabysus, with several other persons of the first quality, to persuade the latter to return to his allegiance. They succeeded in their negotiation; the king pardoned him, and he returned to court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion, raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabysus, seeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion first, commanded Megabysus' head to be struck off. Amytis the king's sister, and Amestrus, with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon the king to change.

^d Thucyd. l. i. p. 72. ^e A. M. 3557. Ant. J. C. 477.

^f A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

this sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabysus was therefore sent to Cyrra, a city on the Red Sea, and condemned to end his days there: however, five years after, disguising himself like a leper, he made his escape, and returned to Susa, where, by the assistance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was restored to favour, and continued so till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Megabysus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, and at the same time the best general. Artaxerxes owed * both his crown and life to him: but it is of dangerous consequence for a subject, when his sovereign is under too many obligations to him. This was the cause of all the misfortunes of Megabysus.

It is surprising that so judicious a prince as Artaxerxes should have been so imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy against a nobleman of his court, merely because, in a party of hunting, he had wounded the beast they were pursuing before him. Could any thing be so weak? and was this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheless, history furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am apt to believe, from some expressions of ^e Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some public kind of atonement for it: for, according to this author, he published a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, should be allowed to throw his javelin first at the beast, if opportunity should offer; and he, according to Plutarch, was the first Persian monarch who granted such a permission.

SECTION VI.

**ARTAXERXES SENDS ESDRAS, AND AFTERWARDS NEHEMIAH,
TO JERUSALEM.**

BEFORE I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I shall relate, in a few words, the several things which happened to the people of God, during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an essential part of the history of that prince.

^f In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Esdras

^e Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 173.
¹ Esdras vii. 7. &c.

^f A. M. 3537. Ant. J. C. 467.

* Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum ante-
vertere, pro gratia odium redditur.—*Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.*

obtained of the king and his seven counsellors an ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem with all such Jews as would follow him thither, in order to settle the Jewish government and religion agreeably to their own laws. Esdras was descended from Saraia, who was high-priest of Jerusalem when destroyed by Nebuchodonosor, and was put to death by his command. Esdras was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly distinguished from the rest of the Jews by his great knowledge in the scriptures; it being said of him ^g, “That he was very ready in the law of Moses that was given by the God of Israel.” He now set out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and such Israelites as had staid in Babylon, had put into his hands for the service of the temple, and which he gave to the priests upon his arrival in Jerusalem. It appears by the commission which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Israel, as, in commanding his officers to furnish the Jews with all things necessary for their worship, he adds, “^h Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the Most High God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son.” This commission, as I observed, empowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews pursuant to the law of Moses; to appoint magistrates and judges to punish evil-doers, not only by imprisoning their persons, and confiscating their possessions, but also by sending them into banishment, and even sentencing them to death, according to the crimes they should commit. Such was the power with which Esdras was invested, and which he exercised faithfully during thirteen years, till Nehemiah brought a new commission from the Persian court.

ⁱ Nehemiah was also a Jew of distinguished merit and piety, and one of the cupbearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very considerable employment in the Persian court, because of the privileges annexed to it, viz. of being often near the king’s person, and of being allowed to speak to him in the most favourable moments. However, neither his exalted station, nor the settlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his ancestors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was still in Zion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem, having informed

^g 1 Esdras viii. 3.
Nehem. c. i. et. ii.

^h Idem, ver. 21.

ⁱ A. M. 3350. Ant. J. C. 454.

him of the sad state of that city, that its walls lay in ruin, its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby exposed to the insults of their enemies, and made the scorn of all their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made such an impression on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day, as he was waiting upon the king, the latter observing an unusual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, asked him the cause of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderness of heart rarely found in kings, and which is nevertheless much more valuable than the most shining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous state of his country, owned that was the subject of his grief; and humbly intreated that leave might be given him to go to Jerusalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Persia, his predecessors, had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jerusalem. But Artaxerxes immediately decreed, that the walls and gates of Jerusalem should be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horse, commanded by a considerable officer, to escort him thither. He likewise wrote to all the governors of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all the assistance possible in forwarding the work for which he was sent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity.

^k It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, that we date the beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Messiah was to appear, and to be put to death. I shall here insert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this history.

“¹ Thou art greatly beloved, therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore and un-

"derstand, THAT FROM THE GOING FORTH OF THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood: and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate."

^m When Esdras was in power, as his chief view was to restore religion to its ancient purity, he disposed the books of scripture into their proper order, revised them all very carefully, and collected the incidents relating to the people of God in ancient times; in order to compose out of them the two books of Chronicles, to which he added the history of his own times, which was finished by Nehemiah. It is their books that end the long history which Moses had begun, and which the writers who came after them continued in a direct series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest of the sacred history is not written in that uninterrupted order. Whilst Esdras and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom profane authors call the Father of History, began to write. Thus we find that the latest authors of the books of scripture flourished about the same time with the first authors of the Grecian history: and when it began, that of God's people, to compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus made no mention of the Jews in his history; for the Greeks desired to be informed of such nations only as were famous for their wars, their commerce, and grandeur; so that, as Judea was then but just rising from its ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.

^m Bishop of Meaux's Universal History.

SECTION VII.

CHARACTER OF PERICLES, &c.

I now return to Greece. From the banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristides, the exact time of which is not known, two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, divided all the credit and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make a very considerable figure in the following history, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was, in what manner he had been educated, and his scheme and method of government.

ⁿ Pericles was descended, by the mother's as well as father's side, from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Persia's lieutenants, married Agarista, niece to Clisthenes, who expelled the Pisistratides, descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the design he formed of engaging in state-affairs.

He was brought up under the most learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, surnamed the Intelligent, from his being the first, as we are told, who ascribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as some philosophers, nor to a fatal necessity, but to a superior intelligence, who disposed and governed all things with wisdom. This tenet or opinion subsisted long before his time; but he perhaps set it in a stronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras instructed his pupil perfectly in that part of philosophy that relates to nature, and which is therefore called Physics *. This study gave him a strength and greatness of soul which raised him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices, and vain practices generally observed in his time; and which, in affairs of government and military enterprises, either disconcerted often the wisest and most necessary measures, or defeated them by scrupulous delays, authorised and covered with the spe-

ⁿ Plut. in Vit. Peric. p. 153.—156.

* The ancients, under this name, comprehended what we call physics and metaphysics; that is, the knowledge of spiritual things, as God and spirits; and that of bodies.

cious veil of religion. These were sometimes dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful phænomena, as eclipses of the sun or moon, or else omens and presages ; not to mention the wild chimeras of judiciary astrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the grovelling and weak superstitions to which ignorance gives birth, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a well-grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a strength of mind that was immoveable, and a calm hope of the blessings to be expected from them. Although he found infinite charms in this study, he did not however devote himself to it as a philosopher, but as a statesman ; and he had so much power over himself, (a very difficult thing,) as to prescribe himself limits in the pursuit of knowledge.

But the talent he cultivated with the greatest care, because he looked upon it as the most necessary instrument to all who are desirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, those who possessed this talent, in a free state like that of Athens, were sure of reigning in the assemblies, engrossing suffrages, determining affairs, and exercising a kind of absolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as the several sciences he had learned from Anaxagoras *, were directed ; exalting, to borrow Plutarch's expression, the study of philosophy with the dye of rhetoric ; the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embellish and adorn his discourse, heightened the strength and solidity of reasoning, with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time in this study, for his success far exceeded his utmost hopes. The poets †, his contemporaries, used to say, that his eloquence was so powerful, that he lightened, thundered, and agitated all Greece. ‡ It had those piercing and lively strokes, that reach the inmost soul ; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty

* Βαφῆ τῇ ἐπορικῇ τὴν φυσιολυγίαν ὅπο χιόμενος.

† Ab Aristophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Greciam dictus est.—Cic. in Orat. n. 29.

‡ Quid Pericles ? De cuius dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus et jucundum videretur : cuius in labris veteres comici—leporem habitasse dixerunt : tantamque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinquaret.—Cic. l. 3. de Orat. n. 138.

with strength; and Cicero observes, that at the very time he opposed, with the greatest tenaciousness, the inclinations and desires of the Athenians, he had the art to make even severity itself, and the kind of cruelty with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words; whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides *, his rival and adversary, was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler: " Whenever," says he, " I have given him a fall, he affirms the contrary, " in such strong and forcible terms, that he persuades all " the spectators that I did not throw him, though they " themselves saw him on the ground." Nor was he less prudent and reserved, than strong and vehement in his speeches; and it is related, that he never spoke in public; till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. o Whenever he went into the assembly, before he came out of his house, he used to say to himself, " Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to " speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to " Athenians."

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, used, in order to improve his mind in knowledge, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent lesson to such persons as are one day to fill the important offices of state; and a just censure of those †, who, disregarding whatever is called study and learning, bring into those employments, upon which they enter without knowledge or experience, nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness in deciding. p Plutarch, in a treatise where he shews, that it is to statesmen that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself, preferably to any other class of men, because, in instructing them, he at the same time teaches whole cities and republics, verifies his assertion from the example of the greatest men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philosophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dionysius of Syracuse, by Plato; many princes of Italy, by Pythagoras;

^o Plut. in Symp. lib. i. p. 610.

p Idem, p. 777.

* Not the historian.

† Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendos, et ad remp. gerendam, nudi veniunt et inermes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla scientia ornati.—Cic. l. 3. de Orat. n. 136.

Cato, the famous censor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived, for the same purpose ; and lastly, the famous Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, always kept Panetius the philosopher near his person.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles also was, to study thoroughly the genius and disposition of the Athenians, that he might discover the secret springs which were to be employed in order to set them in motion ; and the manner it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence ; * for it was principally in that the great men among the ancients used to make their skill in politics consist. He found, by the reflections he had made on several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and a strong love of liberty, which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy, and suspicion, of all such citizens as were too conspicuous for their birth, their personal merit, their own credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Pisistratus, with regard to the sweetness of his voice and fluency of expression, but he also resembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner ; and he observed, that the most ancient Athenians who had seen the tyrant, were prodigiously struck at the resemblance. Besides, he was very rich, was descended from an illustrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent, therefore, his being obnoxious to the suspicion and jealousy of the people, he at first shunned all affairs of government, which require a constant attendance in the city ; and was solely intent upon distinguishing himself in war and dangers.

Seeing Aristides dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars, and absent from Greece, he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himself to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from affecting popular power, but to remove all suspicions of his aspiring to the tyranny, and still more, to raise a strong bulwark against the credit and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the same time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life, and assumed, in all things, the character of a statesman, wholly busied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. He was never seen

* Olim noscenda vulgi natura, et quibus modis temperanter haberetur ; senatusque et optimatum ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes habebantur.—*Tacit. Annal. I. iv. c. 33.*

in the streets, except when he was going either to the assembly of the people, or to the council. He left off going to banquets, assemblies, and other diversions of that kind which he had used to frequent; and during the many years that he presided in the administration, he was never seen to go to supper with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

^q He knew that the people ^{*}, who are naturally fickle and inconstant, commonly increase their disregard for those who are always in their sight; and that too strong a desire to please them, grows at last tiresome and importunate; and it was observed that such a behaviour did Themistocles great prejudice. To avoid this error, he used to go very rarely to the assemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himself desired; and to preserve such an ascendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn, and in a manner withered by an over great assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important occasions. ^r Hence it was said, that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to some philosophers, busied himself in great events only, and left the direction of those of less importance to subaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles used to transact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators who were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

^s Pericles employed his whole industry and application to gain the favour and esteem of the people, in order to counterbalance the fame and credit of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such largesses as appear to us almost incredible, so much they differ from our behaviour in that respect. Finding it impossible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourse to another expedient, in order to gain the love of the populace, no less effectual perhaps, but certainly not so lawful and honourable. He was the first who divided the conquered lands among the citizens; who distributed among them the public revenues for the expence of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all public employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, as well

^q Plut. de sui laude, p. 441.

^r Plut. de Ger. Rep. p. 811.

^s Plut. in Peric. p. 156.

* *Ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum satietatis.—Utrique nostrum desiderium nihil obfusisset.—Cic. pro Mur. n. 21.*

to gratify them at the games, as for their presence in the courts of justice, and the public assemblies. It is impossible to say, how fatal these unhappy politics were to the republic, and the many evils with which they were attended. For these new regulations, besides their draining the public treasury, gave the people a luxurious and dissolute turn of mind; whereas they were before sober and modest, and contented themselves with getting a livelihood by their sweat and labour.

By * such arts as these, Pericles had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he may be said to have attained a monarchial power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what shape he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in all their assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes scarce any other difference between Pisistratus and Pericles, except that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progress under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, however enormous, could not yet restrain the comic writers from lashing him very severely in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets who censured Pericles with so much boldness, were ever punished, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was out of prudence and policy that he did not attempt to curb this licentiousness of the stage, nor to silence the poets; that he might amuse and content the people by this vain shadow of liberty, and prevent their discovering that they really were enslaved.

^t But Pericles did not stop here. He boldly resolved, if possible, to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, because he had never been elected either ^f Archon, Thesmootheta, king of the sacrifices, nor Polemarch. These were different employments in the republic, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but those who had behaved uprightly in

^t Plut. in Peric. p. 157. In Cim. p. 488.

* Pericles felicissimis naturæ incrementis, sub Anaxagora præceptore summo studio perpolitus et instructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit: egit enim ille urbem, et versavit arbitrio suo.—Quid inter Pisistratum et Periclem interfuit, nisi quod ille armatus, hic sine armis, tyrannidem exerceuit? —Val. Max. l. 8. c. 9.

^f After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority was at last vested in nine magistrates, called Archons, and lasted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polemarchus, a third Archon, and this magistrate was properly at the head of the rest, and gave his name to the year; and six Thesmoothetae, who presided immediately over the laws and decrees.

them, were allowed a seat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's absence, set Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandestinely; and at last lessened the power of that illustrious body, in which the chief strength of the nobility consisted. The people, emboldened and supported by so powerful a faction, subverted all the fundamental laws and ancient customs; took from the senate of the Areopagus the cognizance of most causes that used to be brought before it, leaving it very few, and such only as were of little consequence, and made themselves absolute masters of all the tribunals.

Cimon, being returned to Athens, was afflicted to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine at work to restore it to its pristine authority, and to revive the aristocracy, in the same form as it had been established under Clisthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and to excite the people against him; reproaching him, among many other things, for his strong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himself given some room for this reproach, by his not paying sufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy: for, in speaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmonia; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used to cry, “The Spartans do not act in this manner.” Such expressions as these drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheless had no share, made him the object of their utmost detestation.

SECTION VIII.

AN EARTHQUAKE IN SPARTA, &c.

IN the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus^u, there happened the most dreadful earthquake in Sparta that had ever been known. In several places the country was entirely swallowed up; Taygetes and other mountains were shaken to their foundations; many of their summits, being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houses only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots, who were slaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, flew up and down every part of the city, to murder such as had escaped the earthquake; but finding them under arms,

^u A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 489. 489.

and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foresight of Archidamus, who had assembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day open war, having entered into an alliance with several of the neighbouring nations, and being strengthened by the Messenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity sent to Athens to implore succours; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way adviseable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought to be left in its ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But Cimon, being struck with horror at these politics, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizing of his country; declaring, in the strongest terms, that it was absolutely weak and inconsistent, "to leave Greece lame of "one of its legs, and Athens without a counterpoise;" the people came into his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be considered as the two limbs on which Greece stood; so that if one of them was destroyed, the rest were inevitably crippled. It is also certain, that the Athenians were so elate with their grandeur, and were become so proud and enterprising, that they wanted a curb; for which none was so proper as Sparta, that state being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoise to the headstrong disposition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with four thousand men.

We have here an example of the prodigious influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a state, when a great fund of merit unites in his person, with a well-established reputation for probity, disinterestedness, and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, prevails so far as to inspire the Athenians with noble and magnanimous sentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their interest; and this in spite of the suggestions of a secret jealousy, which never fails to shew itself in the most sensible manner on these occasions. By the ascendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raises them above the grovelling and unjust, though too common, political views, which prompt a people to consider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the interest of their own country permits, and even enjoins them to

lay hold of. The counsels of Cimon were perfectly wise and equitable; but it is surprising, how he could prevail so far as to make a whole people approve them, since this is all that could be expected from an assembly of the wisest and gravest senators.

* Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helotes, who had seized upon Ithoma. But these forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity, their power, and great fame; so that they affronted them so far, as to send them back, upon the suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and resentment, they declared themselves, from that very day, enemies to all who should favour the Lacedæmonian interest; for which reason they banished Cimon by the ostracism, the first opportunity that presented itself for that purpose. This is the first time that the misunderstanding between these two nations, which afterwards augmented through mutual discontent, displayed itself in so strong a manner. It was nevertheless suspended for some years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its consequences; but it at last broke out in the most violent manner, in the Peloponnesian war.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithoma, after making a ten years defence in it, surrendered at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that they should never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives and children, and settled them at Naupactus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. ^y The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians. In this manner several leagues were concluded on both sides, and many battles were fought, the most famous of which was that of Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals with those of Marathon and Platæa, and in which Myronides the Athenian general defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.

^z It was on this occasion that Cimon, thinking himself dispensed from his proscription, repaired with some soldiers to his tribe to serve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army against the Lacedæmonians: but his enemies caused him

^x Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. p. 67. 68. ^y A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456. Thucyd. l. i. p. 69.—71. Diod. l. xi. p. 59.—65. ^z Plut. in Cim. p. 452.

to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who were no less suspected than himself of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themselves to the utmost, and fight with the greatest courage, to prove their innocence, and, if possible, to efface from the minds of the citizens, a suspicion so injurious to them all. Accordingly those brave soldiers, who were an hundred in number, fired by his words, demanded his whole armour of him, which they placed in the centre of their little battalion, in order to have him in a manner present, and before their eyes. They fought with so much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accused them so unjustly.

I omit several events of little importance.

SECT I O N IX.

CIMON IS RECALLED. HIS DEATH.

THE Athenians, perceiving the great occasion they had for Cimon,^a recalled him from banishment, in which he had spent five years. It was Pericles himself who proposed and drew up that decree; so moderate in those times, says Plutarch, were feuds and animosities, and so easy to be appeased, when the welfare of their country required it; and so happily did ambition, which is one of the strongest and most lively passions, yield to the necessity of the times, and comply with the occasions of the public.

^b The instant Cimon returned, he stifled the sparks of war which were going to break out among the Greeks, reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty in effect of the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a design to attack their neighbours and allies, he thought it adviseable to lead them at a great distance from home against the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the same time. Accordingly he put to sea with a fleet of two hundred sail. He sent sixty of these into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himself sailed with the rest against the island of Cyprus.

^a Plut. in Cim. p. 490. ^b A. M. 3554. Ant. J. C. 450. Plut. in Cim. p. 490. Diod. l. xii. p. 73. 74.

Artabazus was at that time in those seas, with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Megabysus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thousand men, on the coast of Cilicia. As soon as the squadron which Cimon sent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he sailed and attacked Artabazus, and took an hundred of his ships. He sunk many of them, and chased the rest as far as the coast of Phoenicia. But, as if this victory had been only a prelude to a second, he made a descent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabysus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, a strong city of very great importance. His design, after he had reduced that island, was to sail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the Barbarians; for he had very extensive views, and meditated no less a prospect than that of the entire subversion of the mighty empire of Persia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themistocles was to command against him, added fresh fire to his courage; and almost assured of success, he was infinitely pleased with the occasion of trying his abilities with those of that general. But we have already seen that Themistocles laid violent hands on himself about this time.

^c Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained such great losses, resolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it.^d Accordingly he sent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians upon the most advantageous conditions they could. Megabysus and Artabazus sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were chosen on both sides, and Callias was at the head of those of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follow: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, with such laws and forms of government as they should think fit to chuse. 2. That no Persian ship of war should be allowed to enter the seas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine sea to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should march any troops within three days march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia. These articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.

^d Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had lasted fifty-one years complete, and in

^c Diod. p. 74. 75.

^d A. M. 3555. Ant. J. C. 449.

which infinite numbers of Persians; as well as Greeks, had perished.

Whilst this treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to sail with a fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmost care. Accordingly this was executed with so much secrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once suspected it; and they returned safe to Athens, still under the conduct and auspices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days.

Cimon was universally regretted *, which is no wonder, since he was possessed of all those qualities which dignify the soul; the most tender son; a faithful friend; zealous for the good of his country; a great politician; an accomplished general; modest when raised to the highest employments and most distinguished honours; liberal and beneficent almost to profusion; simple and averse to ostentation of every kind, even in the midst of riches and abundance; in fine, so great a lover of the poor citizens, as to share his whole estate with them, without being ashamed of such companions of his fortune. History mentions no statues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obsequies celebrated after his death: but the greatest honour that could be paid him, were the sighs and tears of the people †; these were permanent and lasting statues, which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of weather or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remotest ages. For the most splendid mausolæums, the works of brass and marble that are raised in honour of wicked great men, are despised by posterity, as sepulchres which inclose nothing but vile dust and putrefaction.

What followed proved more strongly the loss which Greece had sustained by his death: for Cimon was the last of all the Grecian generals who did any thing considerable or glorious against the Barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the strongest ascendency over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds of division in their public assemblies, they turned their animosity against each other, and at last proceeded to open war, the fatal consequences of which no one

* Sic se gerendo, minime est mirandum, si et vita ejus fuit secura, et non acerba.—Corn. Nep. in Cim. c. 4.

† Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ. Nam quæ saxo struuntur, si judicium posteriorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur.—Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 38.

endeavoured to prevent; a circumstance that was of great advantage to the king of Persia, and the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

SECTION X.

THUCYDIDES IS OPPOSED TO PERICLES, &c.

THE nobles of Athens, seeing Pericles raised to the highest degree of power ^e, and far above all the rest of the citizens, resolved to oppose him with a man, who, in some measure, might make head against him, and prevent his authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they opposed him with Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He, indeed, did not possess the military talents in so eminent a degree as Pericles; but then he had as great an influence over the people, shaping their opinions, and directing their assemblies as he pleased: and as he never stirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his designs, he soon restored things to an equilibrium. On the other side, Pericles was solicitous of pleasing the people on all occasions, and slackened the rein more than ever; entertaining them as often as possible with shows, festivals, games, and other diversions.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet, consisting of threescore ships, which he fitted out every year; and thereby did his country an important service, by training up a great number of seamen for its defence; he also planted several colonies in Chersonesus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Bisaltae in Thrace. There was a very noble one in Italy, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had different views in settling those colonies, besides the particular design he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were, to clear the city of a great number of idle persons, who were ever ready to disturb the government; to relieve the wants of the lowest class of people, who before were unable to subsist themselves; in fine, to awe the allies, by settling native Athenians among them as so many garrisons; which might prevent their engaging in any measures contrary to the interests of that people.

e Plut. in Peric. p. 158.—161.

The Romans acted in the same manner; and it may be said, that so wise a policy was one of the most effectual methods used by them to secure the tranquillity of the state.

But the circumstance which did Pericles the greatest honour in the sense of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raised the admiration and astonishment of all foreigners, and gave them a mighty idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprising that, in so short space, so many works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, should be performed, and at the same time be carried to the highest perfection; for it is generally found, that edifices raised in haste boast neither a solid and durable grace, nor the regularity required in works of an exquisitely beautiful kind. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to assiduous labour, can give them such a strength as may preserve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raises our wonder still more in regard to the works of Pericles, which were finished with so much rapidity, and yet subsisted through so great a length of time. For each of those works, the very instant it was finished, had the beauty of an antique; and at this time, *i. e.* above five hundred years after, says Plutarch, they retained a freshness and youth as if just come out of the artist's hand; so happily do they preserve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not suffer time to diminish their lustre; as if an ever-blooming spirit, and a soul exempt from age, were diffused into every part of those works.

But that circumstance, which excited the admiration of the whole world, raised the jealousy of the people against Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the assemblies, that it was dishonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themselves the bank of all Greece, which he had sent for from Delos, where it had been deposited; that the allies must necessarily consider such an attempt as a manifest tyranny, when they found that the sums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embellishing their city, in making magnificent statues, and raising temples that cost millions. They did not amplify on these occasions; for the temple of Minerva only, called the Parthenone, had cost three millions of livres *.

* About L. 145,000 Sterling.

Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them : that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed the Barbarians, whilst the allies furnished neither soldiers, horses, nor ships ; and were excused for some sums of money, which, from the instant they were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of those who received them, provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in consideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were sufficiently provided with all things necessary for war, it was but just that they should employ the rest of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to their city ; and the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a plenty of all things, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens : that they had themselves all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood ; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smith, stonecutters, dyers, goldsmiths ; artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers, and turners ; men fit to conduct their naval affairs, as merchants, sailors, and experienced pilots ; others for land-carriage, as cartwrights, waggoners, carters, ropemakers, pavers, &c. That it was for the advantage of the state to employ these different artificers and workmen, who, as so many separate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestic army, whose different functions and employments diffused gain and increase throughout all sexes and ages : lastly, that whilst men of robust bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether soldiers or mariners, and those who were in the different garrisons, were supported with the public monies, it was but just, that the rest of the people who lived in the city should also be maintained in their way ; and that, as all were members of the same republic, they all should reap the same advantages, by doing it services, which, though of a different kind, did however all contribute to its security or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray the expence of all these things, provided it should be declared in the public inscription, that lie only had been at the charge of them. At these words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him engross that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the public treasury all the sums necessary for his purpose.

Phidias, the celebrated sculptor, presided over all these works, as director-general. It was he who particularly cast the gold * and ivory statue representing Pallas, which was so highly valued by all the judges of antiquity. There arose an incredible ardour and emulation among the several artificers, who all strove to excel each other, and immortalize their names by master-pieces of art.

The odeon, or music-theatre, which had a great number of seats and columns within it, and whose roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of king Xerxes' tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed, with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendour of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators of the opposite faction were eternally exclaiming against him, and tearing his character to pieces; accusing him of squandering the public monies, and laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height, that one or other of them must necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished; crushed by that means the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the public monies, troops, and ships. The islands and sea were subject to him; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended, not only over the Greeks, but the Barbarians also, and which was cemented and strengthened by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendship of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes.

Historians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have

* Non Minervæ Athenis factæ amplitudine utemur, cum ea sit cubitorum xxvi. Ebore hæc et auro constat.—Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. This statue was twenty-six cubits in height.

related faithfully their testimony ; but I cannot say whether the complaints and murmurs raised against him were very ill grounded. And indeed, was it just in him to expend in superfluous buildings and vain decorations, the immense * sums intended for carrying on the war ; and would it not have been better to have eased the allies of part of the contributions, which, in Pericles' administration, were raised to a third part more than before ? According to Cicero ^f, such edifices and other works only are worthy of admiration, as are of use to the public, as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, seaports ; and to these we must add, the works made by Pericles, to join Athens to the port of Piræus. But Cicero observes, at the same time, that Pericles was blamed for squandering away the public treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. ^g Plato, who formed a judgement of things, not from their outward splendour, but from truth, observes, after his master Socrates, that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners.

S E C T I O N XI.

PERICLES CHANGES HIS CONDUCT WITH REGARD TO THE PEOPLE.

WHEN Pericles saw himself invested with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. ^h He now was not so mild and tractable as before, nor did he submit or abandon himself any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as so many winds ; but drawing in, says Plutarch, the reins of this too loose popular government, in the same manner as we screw up the strings of an instrument when too slack, he changed it into an aristocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing however from the public good. Choosing always what was most expedient, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained so mighty an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleasure. Sometimes, by his bare counsel, and by persuasive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their assent spontaneously ; at other times, when he

^f Ofic. l. ii. n. 60.

^g In Georg. p. 515. In Alcib. c. i. p. 119.

^h Plut. in Peril. p. 181.

* They amounted to upwards of ten millions French money.

found them obstinate, he would in a manner drag them forward against their will, to those things that were for their good ; imitating on this occasion a skilful physician, who, in a tedious and stubborn disease, knows what times are proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent medicaments that are pleasing ; in order after to administer those of a strong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of restoring his health.

And indeed, it is manifest that the utmost skill and abilities were required to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power, and exceedingly capricious ; and on this occasion Pericles succeeded wonderfully. He used to employ, according to the different situation of things, sometimes hope, and at other times fear, as a double helm, either to check the wild transports and starts of the people, or to raise them when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he shewed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is only the art of directing the minds of the people at will ; and that the chief excellency of this art consists in moving, seasonably, the various passions, whether gentle or violent ; which being to the soul what strings are to a musical instrument, need only to be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand to produce their effect.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance which gave Pericles this great authority, was not only the force of his eloquence, but, as Thucydides observes, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

ⁱ Plutarch points out in Pericles, one quality which is very essential to statesmen ; a quality well adapted to win the esteem and confidence of the public, and which supposes a great superiority of mind ; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsels of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone ; to associate with himself persons of merit in his labours, to employ each of these according to his talents ; and to leave them the management of small matters which only consume time, and deprive him of the liberty of mind so necessary in the conduct of important affairs. Such a conduct, says Plutarch, is productive of two advantages. First, it extinguishes or at least breaks the force of envy and jealousy, by dividing, in some measure, a power which is grating and offensive to us when we see it united in one single person, as if all merit centered in him alone. Secondly, it advances and facilitates the execution of affairs, and

ⁱ Plut. in Præc. de Rep. Ger. p. 812.

makes their success more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thoughts, employs a very natural and beautiful comparison. The hand, says he, which, from its being divided into five fingers, so far from being weaker, is the stronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the same of a statesman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extensive and decisive : whereas the indiscreet fire of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and is for engrossing all things, serves to no other purpose but to set his weakness and incapacity in a stronger light, and to disconcert his affairs. But Pericles, says Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a skilful pilot, who, though he stands almost motionless himself, however puts every thing in motion, and will sometimes seat subaltern officers at the helm ; so Pericles was the soul of the government ; and, seeming to do nothing of himself, he actuated and governed all things ; employing the eloquence of one man, the credit and interest of another, the prudence of a third, the bravery and courage of a fourth, and so on.

^k To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no less rare and valuable ; I mean, a noble and disinterested soul. Pericles had so great a disinclination to the receiving of gifts, so utter a contempt for riches, and was so far above all rapaciousness and avarice, that though he had raised Athens to the richest and most flourishing state ; though his power had surpassed that of many tyrants and kings ; though he had long disposed in an absolute manner of the treasures of Greece, he did not however add a single drachm to the estate he inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause, of the supreme authority of Pericles in the republic ; the just and deserved fruit of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.

It was not only for a few short moments, nor during the first heats of favour, which are generally short-lived, that he preserved his authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithstanding the opposition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared against him ; and of these forty years he spent fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides' banishment, and disposed all affairs with absolute power. Nevertheless, in the midst of this supreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unli-

^k Plut. in Vit. Peric. p. 161. 162.

mited in his own person, his soul was always superior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected improving his estate to the utmost of his power. For Pericles did not act like those rich men, who, notwithstanding their immense revenues, either through negligence or want of economy, or the expences of pride and folly, are always poor in the midst of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the least service to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domestics; and at last die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmost detestation by their unfortunate creditors. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of economy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the public monies, the maxim of Tacitus takes place *, viz. that when a man has squandered away his estate, he then makes it his whole study to retrieve the loss of it by all sorts of methods, not excepting the most criminal.

Pericles knew much better the use a statesman ought to make of his riches. He was sensible he ought to expend them in the service of the public, such as the procuring of able men to assist him in the administration; the relieving good officers, who too often are in unhappy circumstances; the rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thousand such things; to which, doubtless either on account of the exquisite joy they give, or the solid glory that results from them, no one will be so thoughtless as to compare the expences lavished away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his estate with the utmost economy; having himself taught one of his old servants to take care of his domestic concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at stated times, of all things that had been received as well as expended: confining himself and his family to a decent subsistence, from which he banished severely all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind, suitable to his estate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did no way please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at sufficient expence for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low sordid economy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigned in houses

* Si ambitione ærarium exhauserimus, per scelerem supplendum erit.—*Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 38.*

where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles had little regard to these complaints, and directed his views to things of much greater importance.

I believe it will not be improper to apply on this occasion, a very just remark of Plutarch, in his parallel of Aristides and Cato. After saying, that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greatest and most perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that economy is not one of the most inconsiderable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may most contribute to the security or ruin of a state, the art that teaches to dispose of, and make a good use of them, and which is called economy, is certainly a branch of the art of policy; and not one of the most inconsiderable branches of it, since great wisdom is required, in order to the observing a just medium on these occasions, and to the banishing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art which, avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expences, prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburden a people with taxes; and keeps always in reserve, in the public coffers, monies sufficient for the supporting a war that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen accident. Now, what is said of a kingdom, or of a city, may be applied to particular persons. For a city, which is composed of an assemblage of houses, and which forms a whole of several parts united, is either powerful or weak when taken together, in proportion as all the members of which it consists are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himself well with regard to that part of this science which relates to the government of a family: but I do not know whether the same may be said of his administration of the public revenues.

SECTION XII.

JEALOUSY AND CONTESTS ARISE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

SUCH was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestic concerns¹: and he was no less famous for his administration of public affairs. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the prosperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it, Pericles, to inspire his citizens with greater

¹ Plut. in Peric. p. 162.

courage and magnanimity, published a decree, importing, that orders should be sent to all the Greeks, inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and to all the cities great or small, to send immediately their deputies or representatives to Athens, to examine and debate on ways and means to rebuild the temples that had been burnt by the Barbarians ; to perform the sacrifices, which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece, when war was carrying on against them : as also, to consider on the necessary expedients for establishing such an order and discipline in their navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly twenty persons were chosen for this embassy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years old. Five of these were sent to the Ionians and Dorians of Asia, and the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes ; five to the countries of the Hellespont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Boeotia, to Phocis, and Peloponnesus ; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians, to proceed to the several cities of the upper continent, as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Oeta, and those of the gulf of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phithiotis, of Achaia, and of Thessaly ; and to induce the several nations to come to the assembly convened in Athens, and to assist at the debates which should be there carried on concerning peace, and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it necessary to enter into this detail, as it shows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain, the cities not sending their deputies, which, according to historians, was owing to the opposition made by the Lacedæmonians ; a circumstance we are not to wonder at. They were sensible that Pericles' design was, to have Athens acknowledged as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities ; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A secret leaven of dissension had, for some years, begun to disturb the tranquillity of Greece ; and we shall find by the sequel, that disgusts augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprises. The troops reposed the highest confidence in him, and whenever they followed him, assured themselves of success. His chief maxim

of war was, never to venture a battle unless he were almost certain of victory, and not to lavish the blood of the citizens. He used to say frequently, that were it in his power they should be immortal ; that when trees were felled, they shoot to life again in a little time, but when men once die, they are lost for ever. A victory that was only the effect of a happy temerity, appeared to him as little worthy of praise, though it often was much admired.

His expedition into the Thracian Chersonesus did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country ; for he not only strengthened the Grecian cities of that peninsula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but also shut up the isthmus with a strong wall, with forts at proper distances from sea to sea ; securing by that means the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with a hundred ships round Peloponnesus, spreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he came, the success of which was not once interrupted on this occasion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-manned, and magnificent fleet ; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to ask of him. At the same time he displayed to the Barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatness of the power of the Athenians ; and proved to them, by the security with which he sailed to all parts, that they possessed the empire of the seas without a rival.

^m But so constant and shining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now resolved nothing but the boldest and most lofty projects. They were for ever talking of new attempts upon Egypt ; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king ; of carrying their arms into Sicily, a fatal and unhappy design, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived soon after ; and to extend their conquests towards Hetruria on one side, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving in to such idle views, or supporting them with his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was to damp that restless ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or measure. It was his opinion that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future, only in securing and pre-

^m Plut. in Peric. p. 164.

serving their present acquisitions ; and he thought he had gained a great point, in restraining the power of the Lacedæmonians, the reducing of which he always meditated ; and this was particularly seen in the sacred war.

ⁿ This name was given to the war which was raised on account of Delphos. The Lacedæmonians, having entered armed into the country where that temple is situated, had dispossessed the people of Phocis of the superintendence of that temple, and bestowed it on the Delphians. As soon as they left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and restored the Phocenses.

The Euboceans having rebelled at the same time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, but news was brought, that the inhabitants of Megaria had taken up arms ; and that the Lacedæmonians, headed by Plistonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Eubœa, and to go with all possible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned against the rebels, and again subjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

^o After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored tranquillity for the present : but as it did not descend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealousy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration.

SECTION XIII.

NEW SUBJECTS OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

THE Athenians ^p, six years after, took up arms against Samos in favour of Miletus. These two cities were contesting for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war to please a famous courtesan, of whom he was very fond : her name was Aspasia, a native of Miletus. After several events and battles, Pericles besieged the capital of the island of Samos. It is said, that this was the first time he used military engines, as bat-

ⁿ Plut. in Pericl. p. 164. ^o A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446. Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. Diod. p. 87. ^p A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440. Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. 76. Diod. l. xii. p. 88. 89. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165.—167.

tering-rams and tortoises, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was surnamed Periphoretus. The use of these machines had long been known in the east. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months siege, surrendered; Pericles razed their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expences of the war. Part of this sum they paid down; agreed to disburse the rest at a certain time, and gave hostages by way of security for the payment.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles being returned to Athens, buried in a splendid manner all who had lost their lives in this war, and pronounced in person the funeral oration over their graves. This custom, which he first introduced, was afterwards regularly observed. The senate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on these occasions. He was chosen, ten years after, for the like ceremony, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

^q Pericles, who foresaw that a rupture would soon ensue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, advised the former to send aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over to their interest that island, which was so very formidable at sea: foretelling them, that they should be attacked by the Peloponnesians. The occasion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave rise to that of Peloponnesus, one of the most considerable events in the Grecian history, was as follows.

* Epidamnum, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, was a colony of Corcyrans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city growing in time very large and populous, divisions arose in it, and the common people expelled the most wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infested them greatly with their incursions. In this extremity they first had recourse to the Corcyrans, and being refused by them, they addressed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, sent succours to, and settled other inhabitants in it. But they did not continue long unmolested there, the Corcyrans besieged it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth hastened to its aid, but having been defeated at sea, the city surrendered that

^q A. M. 3572. Ant. J. C. 432. Thucyd. I. i. p. 17.—37. Diod. I. xii.
p. 90.—93. Plut. in Peric. p. 167.

* This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium.

very day, upon condition that the foreigners should be slaves, and the Corinthians prisoners, till further orders. The Corcyrans erected a trophy, murdered all their prisoners except the Corinthians, and laid waste the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raised a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it would be impossible for them to make head alone against such powerful enemies, sent to the Athenians to desire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the states of Greece, left such Grecian cities as had not declared themselves, the liberty of joining whom they pleased, or of standing neuter. This the Corcyrans had hitherto done; judging it their interest not to espouse any party, in consequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now sent for this purpose to Athens, which the Corinthians hearing, they also sent deputies thither. The affair was debated with great warmth in presence of the people, who heard the reasons on both sides, and it was twice put to the vote in the assembly. The Athenians declared the first time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion, (doubtless on the remonstrances of Pericles), they received the Corcyrans into their alliance. However, they did not go so far as to conclude a league offensive and defensive with them, for they could not declare war against Corinth, without breaking at the same time with all Peloponnesus; but only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked, either personally, or in their allies. Their real design was, to set these two states, very powerful by sea, at variance; and after each should have exhausted the other by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakest: for at that time there were but three states in Greece, who possessed powerful fleets; and these were, Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They also had a design on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the island of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyrans, and accordingly sent them ten gallies, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unless they should first invade the island of Corcyra, or some other place belonging to their allies: this precaution was used, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey these orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians, near the island of Sebotis, opposite to Corcyra: it was one of the

most considerable, with regard to the number of ships, that ever was fought between the Greeks. The advantage was almost equal on both sides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian gallies came up. The Corcyrans, with this reinforcement, sailed next day by day-break towards the port of Sebotis, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture a second engagement. However, the latter contented themselves with sailing away in order of battle without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sebotis, each ascribing the victory to himself.

^r From this war arose another, which occasioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peleponnesus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, which sent magistrates thither annually; but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians, fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the rest of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side next Pallene; to deliver hostages to them as sureties for their fidelity; and to send back the magistrates which Corinth had given them. Demands of so unjust a nature only fomented the revolt. ^s The Potidæans declared against the Athenians, and several neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth armed and sent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his master, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is something very singular, to see a philosopher put on his coat of mail, as well as to consider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a soldier in the whole army who so resolutely supported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies he had long accustomed himself to despise and subdue with ease. Thrace, the scene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilst the other soldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarce ever dared to stir out of them, Socrates used to come into the open air as thin clad as usual, and bare-footed. His gaiety and wit were the life of all tables, and induced others to put the glass

^r Thucyd. 1. i. p. 37.—42. Diod. 1. xii. p. 93. 94.

^s Plut. in Conviv. p. 219. 220. Plut. in Alcib. p. 194.

round cheerfully, though he himself never drank wine to excess. When the armies engaged, he performed his duty to a miracle. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himself before him, defended him valiantly, and, in sight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was justly due to Socrates; but as the generals seemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illustrious birth, Socrates, who only sought for opportunities to inflame him with desire of true glory, contributed more than any other person, by the noble eulogium he made on his courage, to cause the crown and complete suit of armour, which was the prize of valour, to be adjudged to Alcibiades.

Notwithstanding the loss which the Corinthians had sustained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore besieged.

^t The Corinthians, fearing to lose a place of so much importance, addressed their allies in the strongest terms; who all, in conjunction with them, sent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary assemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much disgusted at the Athenians, did not send a deputation publicly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republic to which they were subject; but they acted in secret as strenuously as the rest. The Megarians complained vehemently against the Athenians, that, contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice to the treaty concluded between the Greeks, they had prohibited them, by a public decree, access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them. ^u By that decree, according to Plutarch *, the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcileable hatred against Megara; and ordained that all Megarians should be put to death that set foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the usual oath, should swear expressly, that they would send a

^t Thucyd. l. i. p. 43.—59.

^u Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

* According to Plutarch, some persons pretended that Pericles had caused this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aspasia, from whose house the people of Megara had carried off two courtesans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled, the Acharnianians, reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary author, and who was very well acquainted with all the transactions of Athens, does not say a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a professed slanderer and satirist.

body of soldiers twice a-day, to lay waste the territories of the Megarenses.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambassador, who spoke with the utmost force and freedom. He represented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themselves never swerved from the most inviolable integrity, either in public or private transactions, they, for that very reason, were less suspicious of the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their discovering the ambition of their enemies: that instead of flying with instant activity to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite crushed by them: that by their indolence and supineness, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining, by insensible degrees, their present height of grandeur and power. That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians. “That this active, vigilant, and indefatigable people, were never at rest themselves, nor would suffer any other nation to be so. Employed,” says he, “wholly in their projects, they form only such as are of the greatest and most intrepid nature: their deliberations are speedy, and their executions the same. One enterprise serves only as a step to a second. Whether they are successful or unfortunate, they turn every thing to their advantage; and never stop in their career, or are discouraged. But you, who are oppressed by such formidable enemies, are lulled asleep in a fatal tranquillity; and do not reflect, that a man who desires to live calm and easy, must not only forbear injuring others, but also not let any ill be done to himself; and that justice consists not only in forbearing to commit evil ourselves, but in avenging that done to us by others. Shall I be so free as to say it? Your integrity is of too antique a cast for the present state of affairs. It is necessary for men, in politics as well as in all other things, to conform always to the times. When a people are at peace, they may follow their ancient maxims; but when they are involved in a variety of difficulties, they must try new expedients, and set every engine at work to extricate themselves. It was by these arts that the Athenians have increased their power so much. Had you imitated their activity, they would not have dispossessed us of Corcyra, and would not now be laying siege to Potidæa. Follow their example on this occasion, by succouring the Potidæans and the rest of your allies, as your duty obliges you; and do not force your friends and neighbours, by forsaking them, to have recourse out of despair to other powers.”

The Athenian ambassador, who was come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the assembly, did not think it adviseable to let this speech go unanswered; but put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the still recent services that the republic, by which he was sent, had done to all Greece, which, he said, merited some regard; and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much less should endeavours be used to lessen its power. That the Athenians could not be charged with having usurped an empire over Greece; since it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in some measure with the consent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm; that those who murmured, did it without grounds, and only from the aversion which mankind in general have to dependance and subjection, though of the gentlest and most equitable kind: that he exhorted them to employ a sufficient time in deliberating, before they came to a resolution, and not involve themselves and all Greece in a war, which would necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences. That gentle methods may be found for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into open violence. However, that the Athenians, in case of an invasion, were able to oppose force with force, and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, against Sparta, the deities who take vengeance on those who forswear themselves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before it passed into an act, Archidamus king of Sparta, setting himself above those prejudices which so strongly biassed the rest, and directing his views to futurity, made a speech, in which he set forth the dreadful consequences of the war they were going to embark in; shewed the strength of the Athenians; exhorted them first to try gentle methods, which they themselves had seemed to approve; but to make in the mean time the necessary preparations for carrying on so important an enterprise, and not to be under any apprehensions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, since their past actions secured them from any suspicion of that kind.

But, notwithstanding all these wise expostulations, a war was resolved on. The people caused the allies to return into the assembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors: but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This de-

cree of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce ; and was not owing so much to the complaints of the allies, as to the jealousy of the Athenian power, which had already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

* Accordingly the allies were convened a second time. They all gave their votes, in their several turns, from the greatest city to the least, and war was resolved by a general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged adviseable to begin them immediately ; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and observe the necessary formalities, to send ambassadors to Athens, to complain of the violation of the treaty.

The first who was sent thither, revived an ancient complaint, required of the Athenians to expel out of their city the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of * Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in their making this demand, was either to procure his banishment, or lessen his authority. However it was not complied with. The second ambassadors required that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and the liberty of Ægina restored, and above all, that the decree against the Megarians should be repealed ; declaring that otherwise no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third ambassador came, who took no notice of any of these particulars, but only said, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace ; but that this could never be, except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece.

SECTION XIV.

TROUBLES EXCITED AGAINST PERICLES, &c.

PERICLES opposed all these demands with great ^y vigour, and especially that relating to the Megarians. He had great credit in Athens, and at the same time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at first in person, they cited his most intimate friends, and those for whom he had the greatest

x Thucyd. l. i. p. 77.—84. et 93.

y Plut. in Peric. 168. 169.

* This Cylon seized on the citadel of Athens above an hundred years before. Those who followed him, being besieged in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for shelter to the temple of Minerva ; where they afterwards were taken out by force, and cut to pieces. Those who advised this murder were declared guilty of impiety and sacrilege, and as such banished. However, they were recalled some time after.

esteem, as Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras, before the people ; and their design in this was, to sound how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in the casting the statue of Minerva, which was his masterpiece. The prosecution having been carried on with the usual forms, before the assembly of the people, not a single proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: for that artist, from beginning that statue, had, by Pericles' advice, contrived the workmanship of the gold in such a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in presence of all the spectators. But Phidias had witnesses against him, the truth of whose evidence he could neither dispute nor silence; these were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-existing causes of the envy which attacked him. The circumstance which they could least forgive him in was, his having represented to the life, in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the shield of the goddess, his own person, and that of Pericles^z: and, by an imperceptible art, he had so blended and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to erase them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where he came to his end, either by the common course of nature, or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not possible to excuse in any manner the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death the reward of a master-piece of art; nor their excessive rigour, in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or, which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in so great an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she was become very famous, not so much for the charms of her person, as for her vivacity and solidity of wit, and her great knowledge. All the illustrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her house. ^a Socrates himself used to visit her constantly; and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that he had learned rhetoric from her. Pericles declared also, that he was obliged to Aspasia for his eloquence, which so greatly distinguished him in Athens; and that it was from her conversation he had imbibed

^z Aristot. in Tractat. de Mund. p. 613.

^a Plut. in Menex. p. 235.

the principles of the art of policy ; for she was exceedingly well versed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to still greater motives. Pericles did not love his wife ; he resigned her very freely to another man, and supplied her place with Aspasia, whom he loved passionately, though her reputation was more than suspicious. Aspasia was therefore accused of impiety and a dissolute conduct ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his intreaties, and by the compassion he had raised in the judges, by shedding abundance of tears whilst her cause was pleading ; a behaviour little consistent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of the supreme head of the most powerful state of Greece.

A decree was passed, by which informations were ordered to be taken out against all such * persons as denied what was ascribed to the ministry of the gods; or those philosophers and others who taught preternatural things, and the motions of the heavens, doctrines on this occasion considered injurious to the established religion. The scope and aim of this decree was, to make Pericles suspected with regard to these matters, because Anaxagoras had been his master. This philosopher taught, that one only intelligence had modified the chaos, and disposed the universe in the beautiful order which we now see it ; which tended directly to deprecate the gods of the pagan system. Pericles, thinking it would be impossible for him to save his life, sent him out of the city to a place of safety.

The enemies of Pericles seeing that the people approved and received with pleasure all these accusations, they impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the public monies during his administration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accounts ; was to be tried for oppression and rapine ; and the cause to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had no real cause of fear, because, in the administration of the public affairs, his conduct had always been irreproachable, especially on the side of interest : he could not however but be under some apprehensions from the ill-will of the people, when he considered their great levity and inconstancy. One day when Alcibiades, then very young,

* Τά τεῦ μὴ νομίζοντας, η λόγιες περὶ τῶν μεταρχοῖν διδόσκοντας. Anaxagoras teaching, that the divine intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature, and presided in the government of the universe, destroyed, by that system, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were ascribed to them.

went to visit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be spoke with, because of some affairs of great consequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades inquiring what these mighty affairs were, was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. "He should rather," says Alcibiades, "not give them in :" and indeed this was what Pericles at last resolved. To allay the storm, he made a resolution to oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly persuaded that this would soon silence all complaints against him ; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive ; and that the citizens, when in such imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power and exalted reputation.

^b This is what some historians have related ; and the comic poets, in the lifetime, and under the eye as it were of Pericles, spread such a report in public, to sully, if possible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occasion, makes a reflection, which may be of great service, not only to those in the administration of public affairs, but to all sorts of persons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary commerce of life. He thinks it strange, when actions are good in themselves, and manifestly laudable in all respects, that men, purely to discredit illustrious personages, should pretend to dive into their hearts ; and from a spirit of the vilest and most abject malice, should ascribe such views and intentions to them, as they possibly never so much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wishes, when the motive is obscure, and the same action may be considered in different lights, that men would always view it in the most favourable, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been spread concerning Pericles, as the fomenter of the Peloponnesian war, merely for private views of interest ; whereas, the whole tenor of his past conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reasons of state, and for the good of the public, that he at last acquiesced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppose.

^c Whilst this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians sent several embassies thither, one after another, to

^b Plut. de Herod. Malign. p. 855. 856.

^c Thucyd. l. i. p. 93.—99. Diod. l. xi. p. 95.—97.

make the various demands above mentioned. At last the affair was debated in the assembly of the people, and it was resolved they should first deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a positive answer. Opinions, as is usual in these cases, were divided ; and some were for abolishing the decree enacted against Megara, which seemed the chief obstacle to the peace.

Pericles spoke on this occasion with the utmost force of eloquence, which his view to the public welfare, and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He shewed, in the first place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greatest stress was laid, was not of so little consequence as they imagined : that the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head, was merely to sound the disposition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be possible to frighten them out of their design ; that should they recede on this occasion, it would betray fear and weakness : that the affair was of no less importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had possessed during so many years, by their courage and resolution : that should the Athenians submit on this occasion, the Lacedæmonians would immediately prescribe new laws to them, as to a people seized with dread ; whereas, if they made a vigorous resistance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at least on the foot of equals : that with regard to the present matters in dispute, arbiters might be chosen, in order to adjust them in an amicable way ; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians, in a magisterial way, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and to revoke the decree relating to Megara : that such imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in express terms, "That should any disputes arise among the allies, they should be decided by pacific methods, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED :" that the surest way to prevent a government from being eternally contesting about its possessions, is to take up arms and dispute its rights sword in hand : that the Athenians had just reason to believe they would gain their cause this way ; and to give them a stronger idea of this truth, he set before them in the most pompous light, the present state of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treasures, revenues, fleets, land as well as sea forces, and those of its allies ; contrasting these several things with the

poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who, he said, had no money, which is the sinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which they most depended. ^d And indeed it appeared by the treasury, that the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city nine thousand six hundred talents, which amount to about twelve hundred thousand pounds Sterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thousand French livres. In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources from the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva alone amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thousand French livres, which might be taken from the statue without spoiling it in any manner, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auspicious times. With regard to the land-forces, they amounted to very near thirty thousand men, and the fleet consisted of three hundred gallies. Above all, he advised them not to venture a battle in their own country against the Peloponnesians, whose troops were superior in number to theirs; not to regard the laying waste of their lands, as they might easily be restored to their former condition; but to consider the loss of their men as highly important, because irretrievable; to make their whole policy consist in defending their city, and preserving the empire of the sea, which would certainly one day give them the superiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a single campaign, but during the whole time it might last; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that system. Pericles, after adding other considerations, taken from the genius or character, and the internal government of the two republics; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered still slower in the execution, from its being obliged to wait for the consent of its allies; the other speedy, determinate, independent, and mistress of its resolutions, which is no indifferent circumstance with regard to the success of enterprises; Pericles, I say, concluded his speech, and gave his opinion as follows: "We have no more to do but to dismiss the ambassadors, "and to give them this answer, That we permit those of Mégara to trade with Athens, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians do not prohibit either us, or our allies, to trade "with them. With regard so the cities of Greece, we shall

^d Diod. l. xii. p. 96. 97.

" leave those free who were so at the time of our agreement,
 " provided they shall do the same with regard to those de-
 " pendent on them. We do not refuse to submit the deci-
 " sion of our differences to arbitration, and will not commit
 " the first hostilities ; however, in case of being attacked, we
 " shall make a vigorous defence."

The ambassadors were answered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home, and never came again to Athens ; soon after which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GREEKS IN SICILY AND ITALY.

As the Peloponnesian war is a great event of considerable duration, before I enter on the history of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the most considerable transactions which had happened in Grecia Major, to the time we now speak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECTION I.

THE CARTHAGINIANS DEFEATED IN SICILY. OF GELON AND HIS TWO BROTHERS.

I. GELON.

We have seen that Xerxes ^e, whose project tended to no less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to make war against the people of Sicily. They landed in it an army of above three hundred thousand men, and sent thither a fleet of two thousand ships, and upwards of three thousand small vessels for the baggage, &c. Hamilcar, the ablest of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the success was not answerable to these mighty preparations ; the Carthaginians were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuse.

^f This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, situated on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gelas, whence perhaps he received his name. He had sig-

^e A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1. et 16.—22.

^f Herod. l. vii. c. 158.—467.

nalized himself very much in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring powers, most of whom he subdued, and was very near taking Syracuse. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and possession of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, possessed himself of the government in his own name. Some time after he made himself master also of Syraeuse, by the assistance of some exiles, whom he had caused to return into it, and who had engaged the populaee to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and applied himself wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syraeuse, and soon rendered himself very powerful. We may form a judgement of this * from the army whieh he offered the Greeian ambassadors, who came to desire his aid against the king of Persia; and by his demand of being appointed generalissimo of all their forces, whieh, however, they refused. The fear he was in at that time of being soon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occasion of his not succouring the Greeks. He was extremely political in his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes' having crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty person with rieh presents, with orders for him to wait the issue of the first battle, and in case Xerxes should be vitorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwise to bring baek the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They were landed in Sieily at the earnest solicitations of Terillus formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant, who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the most illustrious of all Greece, being descended in a straight line from Cadmus. He married into the family whieh at that time ruled at Syraeuse, and which consisted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus. He married his daughter to the first, and himself married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar, having landed at Panormus, began by laying siege to Himera. Gelon hastened with a great army to the succour of his father-in-law; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This perhaps was the most complete victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the same day with that of Thermo-

* He promised to furnish two hundred ships, and thirty thousand men.

pylæ ^g, the circumstances of which I have related in the history of the Carthaginians ^g. One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace which Gelon prescribed the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which shews, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.

The spoils won on this occasion were of immense value. Gelon allotted the greatest part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuse. They also took an incredible number of prisoners. These he shared, with the utmost equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the cities of Agrigentum had each five hundred for its own share.

Gelon ^h, after so glorious a victory, so far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himself came unarmed thither; declared to the assembly every step of his conduct; the uses to which he had applied the several sums with which he had been intrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make against him, his person and life were at their disposal. All the people, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered by acclamations of joy, praise, and gratitude; and immediately, with one consent, invested him with the supreme authority, and the title of king ⁱ. And to preserve to latest posterity the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the assembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracusans, they erected a statue in honour of him, wherein he was represented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarmed. This statue met afterwards with a very singular

^g Vol. I. Plut. in Apophth. p. 175. ^h A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.
ⁱ Plut. in Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 37.

* Herodotus says, that this battle was fought on the same day with that of Salamin, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, entreated him to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamin, which exalted their courage so much, that after this battle, they imagined themselves strong enough to resist their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the assistance of any other power.

fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned its setting up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, thought it adviseable, in order to erase from it all traces of tyrannical government, and at the same time to assist the wants of the people, to sell publicly all the statues of those princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But first he brought them to a trial, as so many criminals; hearing the depositions and witnesses upon each of them. They were all condemned unanimously, the statue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender, in the warm and sincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whose virtue they revered as if he had been still alive.

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having intrusted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This did not add to his known zeal for their interests, but only enabled him to do them more important services. ⁱ For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which Tacitus * found no example, except in Vespasian, he was the first man whom the sovereignty made the better man. He made upwards of ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increase the power of the state, to reward the services of his brave and faithful soldiers; and to attach them more strongly to Syracuse, from the sense of the advantageous settlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.

^k He was particularly famous for his inviolable sincerity, truth, and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very essential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his subjects and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be considered as the basis of all just policy and good government. Having occasion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated, which, very probably, was before he had triumphed over the Carthaginians, he addressed the people, in order to obtain a contribution from them; but finding the Syracusans unwilling to be at that expence, he told them, that he asked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to repay it as soon as the war should be over. The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promised time. How happy is that government where such justice and equity are exercised! and how mistaken are those ministers and princes, who violate them in the least!

ⁱ Diqd. l. xi. p. 55.

^k Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Solus omnium ante se principium in melius mutatus est.—Hist. l. i. c. 5.

^l One of the chief objects of his attention, and in which his successor imitated him, was to make the cultivation of the lands be considered as an honourable employment. It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn, and the immense revenues which might be produced from so rich a soil when industriously cultivated. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and delighted sometimes in appearing at their head, in the same manner as on other occasions he had marched at the head of armies. His intention, says Plutarch, was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but also to exercise his subjects, to accustom and inure them to toils, and by these means to preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably follow a soft and indolent life. There are few maxims, in point of policy, on which the ancients have insisted more strongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifest proof of their great wisdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what constitutes the strength and solid happiness of a state.

^m Xenophon, in a dialogue, the subject of which is government, entitled *Hiero*, shews the great advantage it would be to a state, were the king studious to reward those who should excel in husbandry, and whatever relates to the cultivation of lands. He says the same of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occasion, if honours were paid to all those who should distinguish themselves in them, it would give universal life and motion; would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and give rise to a thousand inventions for the improvement of those arts.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the same manner as the children of the rich among the Greeks, who were taught music and the art of playing on instruments very carefully. Possibly this was because of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he set on those kinds of exercises. ⁿ One day at an entertainment, when, according to the usual custom, a lyre was presented to each of the guests; when it was Gelon's turn, instead of touching the instrument as the rest had done, he caused his horse to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and shewed that he had learned a nobler exercise than playing on the lyre.

^o From the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, the several cities of it enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuse was

^l Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

^m Idem, p. 916. 917.

ⁿ Idem, p. 175.

^o Diod. l. xi. p. 29. 30.

particularly happy in its tranquillity, under the auspicious government of Gelon. He was not born in Syracuse, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though so extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the supreme power went in search of him, not courted with any art or inducement but those of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he accepted it with no other view but the good of his people. He thought himself only king for the defence of the state, to preserve the good order of society, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit to all his subjects, in his simple, modest, active, and regular life, a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he assumed was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the public welfare, and the sweet satisfaction which results from making millions happy by his cares: in a word, he considered the sovereignty as an obligation, and a mean to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He banished from it pomp, ostentation, licentiousness, and impunity for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himself with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their master, but only inculcated to them, that both himself and they ought to submit to reason and justice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but persuasion and a good example, which are the weapons of virtue, and alone produce a sincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A revered old age, a name highly dear to all his subjects, a reputation equally diffused within and without his kingdoms; these were the fruits of that wisdom which he retained on the throne to the last gasp. His reign was short, and only just shewed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his person an example of a great, good, and true king. He left the world, after having reigned only seven years, to the infinite regret of all his subjects. Every family imagined itself deprived of its best friend, its protector, and father. The people erected, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a splendid mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and Agathocles the towers: but, says the historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grosser things, could destroy the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and

noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. HERO. After Gelon's death, the sceptre continued near twelve years in his family ^o: he was succeeded by Hiero, his eldest brother.

It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have written on this prince, some of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a detestable tyrant; it will be necessary, I say, to distinguish the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of sovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, studiously endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predecessor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himself so happy. ^p This young prince was avaricious, headstrong, unjust, and studious of nothing but the gratification of his passions, without ever endeavouring to acquire the esteem and affection of the people; who, on the other side, had the utmost aversion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, prevented them from breaking out.

^q Some time after he had ascended the throne, he had violent suspicions of Polyzelus his brother, whose great credit among the citizens made him fear that he had a design to depose him. However, in order to rid himself without noise of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the head of some forces he was going to send to the succour of the Sibaritæ against the Crotonienses, hoping that he would perish in the expedition. His brother's refusal to accept this command, made him the more violent against him. Theron, who had married Polyzelus' daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum; however, they at last were reconciled by the wise mediation of Simonides ^r the poet; and to make their reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister; after which the two kings always lived in good intelligence with each other.

^s At first, an infirm state of health, which was increased by repeated illness, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved to send for men of learning,

^o A. M. 3532. Ant. J. C. 472.
l. xi. p. 36.

^r Schol. in Pind.

^p Diod. l. xxi. p. 51.

^s *Aelian.* l. iv. c. 15.

^q *Idem,*

who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful instructions. The most famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed that their delightful conversation did not a little contribute to soften the cruel and savage disposition of Hiero.

^t Plutarch relates a noble saying of his, which shews an excellent disposition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears should be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without disguise or reserve.

The poets above mentioned excelled, not only in poetry, but were also possessed of a great fund of learning, and considered and consulted as the sages of their times. This is what Cicero * says particularly of Simonides. He had a great ascendant over the king; and the only use he made of it, was to incline him to virtue.

^u They often used to converse on philosophical subjects. I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of those conversations, asked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the Deity. The latter desired one day's time to consider of it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. The prince pressing him to give his reasons for these delays, he confessed that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatise on the art of governing well, entitled Hiero, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not so happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alleged by him, he insists chiefly on their vast unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest comfort and blessing in this life, viz. the enjoyment of a true friend, to whose bosom they may safely confide their secrets and afflictions; who may share with them in their joy and sorrow; in a word, a second self, who may form but one heart, one soul with them. Simonides, on the other side, lays down admirable maxims with respect to the well governing of a kingdom. He represents to him, that a king is not so for himself, but for others: that his grandeur consists, not in building magnificent palaces for his own residence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and

^t Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

^u Cic. l. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

* Simonides, non poeta solum suavis, verum etiam cæteroqui doctus sapiensque træditur.—Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

embellishing cities : that it is his glory, not that his people should fear, but be afraid for him : that a truly royal care is, not to enter the lists with the first comer at the Olympic games, for the princes of that age were passionately fond of them, and especially * Hiero, but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who should succeed best in diffusing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and in endeavouring to form the felicity of his people.

Nevertheless, another poet, Pindar, praises Hiero for the victory he had won in the horse-race. "This prince," says he, in his ode, "who governs with equity the inhabitants of "opulent Sicily, has gathered the fairest flower in the garden "of virtue. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite "performances of poetry and music. He loves melodious "airs, such as it is customary for us to play at the banquets "given us by our dearest friends. Rouse then thyself, take "thy lyre, and raise it to the Doric pitch. If thou feelest "thyself animated by a glorious fire in favour of † Pisa and "Phoenenice ; if they have waked the sweetest transports "in thy breast, when that generous courser, without being "quickened by the spur, flew along the banks of the Apheus, "and carried his royal rider to glorious victory : O sing the "king of Syracuse, the ornament of the Olympic course !"

The whole ode, translated by the late Mr Massieu, is in the sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions of Belles Lettres, from which I have made the small extract above. I was very glad to give the reader some idea of Pindar, by this little specimen.

The next ode to this was composed in honour of Theron king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-race. The diction of it is so sublime, the thoughts so noble, and the moral so pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's masterpiece.

I cannot say how far we may depend on the rest of the praises which pindar gives Hiero, for poets are not always very sincere in the eulogiums they bestow on princes : however, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the resort of all persons of wit and sense; and that he had invited them

* It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympic games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbid them, because he had not succoured the Greeks against the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother : which motion did honour to the Athenian general.—Ælian. l. ix. c. 5.

† Pisa was the city near to which the Olympic games were solemnized ; and Phoenenice the name of Hiero's courser, signifying the victor.

to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot bestow on Hiero's court the eulogium which Horace * gives the house of Mecænas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among scholars, and nevertheless worth all their erudition. This amiable house, says Horace, was an utter stranger to the mean and grovelling sentiments of envy and jealousy ; and men saw, in those who shared in the master's favour, a superior merit or credit, without taking the least umbrage at it. ^u But it was far otherwise in the court of Hiero, or of Theron. It is said that Simonides, and Bacchylides his nephew, employed all kinds of criticism, to lessen the esteem which those princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of reprisal, ridicules them very strongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing "them to ravens, who " croak in vain against the divine bird of Jove." But modesty was not the virtue which distinguished Pindar.

^x Hiero, having driveu the ancient inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their country, settled a colony of ten thousand men there, half of whom were Syracusans, and the rest Peloponnesians. This prompted the inhabitants of those two cities to appoint, after his death, the same solemnities in his honour, as were bestowed on heroes or demi-gods, because they considered him as their founder.

^y He shewed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gélon his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands, after Micythus, their tutor, should have informed them of the perfect state of it, and how he himself had behaved in the administration. The latter, having assembled the nearest relations and most intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their presence, so good an account of his guardianship, that the whole assembly in perfect admiration bestowed

^u Scholiast. Pind.

^x Diod. I. xi. p. 37.

^y Idem, p. 50.

* ————— Non isto vivimus illic,

Quo tu rere, modo : domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis : nil mi officit unquam,
Dicitur hic, aut est quia dicitur : est locus uni-

Cuique suus.

HOR. lib. i. sat. 9.

Sir, you mistake, that's not our course of life ;
We know no jealousies, no brawls, no strife ;
From all those ills our patron's house is free,
None, 'cause more learn'd or wealthy, troubles me ;
We have our stations, all their own pursue, &c.

CREECH.

the highest encomiums on his prudence, integrity, and justice. Matters were carried so far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to preside in the administration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wise tutor preferring the sweets of ease to the splendour of authority, and persuaded, at the same time, that it would be for the interest of the state, if the young princes took the government into their own hands, he resolved to retire from business. Hiero died after having reigned eleven years.

III. THRASYBULUS.^z He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtiness, he considered men as mere worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himself implicitly to the flattering counsels of the giddy young courtiers who surrounded him. He treated all his subjects with the utmost severity ; banishing some, confiscating the possessions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So severe a slavery grew soon insupportable to the Syracusans, and therefore they implored the succour of the neighbouring cities, whose interest it was also to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thrasybulus was besieged even in Syracuse, the sovereignty of part of which he had reserved to himself, viz. Acradina, and the island, which was very well fortified ; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was possessed by the enemy. After making a feeble resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into banishment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracusans recovered their liberty. They also delivered the rest of the cities of Sicily from tyrants ; established a popular government in all places, and maintained that form themselves during threescore years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.

^a After Sicily had been delivered from the government of tyrants, and all the cities of it were restored to their liberty, as the country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this island an opportunity of cultivating their lands and feeding their flocks, the people grew very powerful, and amassed great riches. To perpetuate to latest posterity the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of slavery by

^z Diod. I. xi. p. 51. 52. ^a A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460. Diod I. xi. p. 55. &c.

the banishment of Thrasybulus, it was decreed in the general assembly of the nation, that a colossal statue should be set up to Jupiter the Deliverer ; that on the anniversary of this day, a festival should be solemnized, by way of thanksgiving, for the restoration of their liberty ; and that there should be sacrificed, in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people should be entertained as a common feast.

There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, I know not what secret leaven of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit. ^b To prevent the evil consequences of them, the Syracusans established the Petalism, which differed very little from the Athenian ostracism ; and was so called from the Greek *πεταλον*, signifying a leaf, because the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgement was pronounced against such citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired at the tyranny, and it banished them for ten years ; however, it did not long continue in force, and was soon abolished; because the dread of falling under its censure, having prompted the most virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government, the chief employments were now filled by such citizens only as had the least merit.

DEUCETIUS ^c, according to Diodorus, was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all, the inhabitants of Hybla excepted, into one body, he became very powerful, and formed several great enterprises. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This city was very famous on account of some wonders which are related of it; and still more from the sacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation whereof was said to be always followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment. This was a secure asylum for all persons who were oppressed by superior power; and especially for slaves who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued in safety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a single instance of a master's having ever forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slave; so famous were the gods who presided over this temple, for the severe vengeance they took on those who violated their oaths.

^b Diod. l. xi. p. 65.

^c Idem, p. 67.—70.

This Deucetius, after having been successful on a great many occasions, and gained several victories, particularly over the Syracusans, saw his fortune change on a sudden by the loss of a battle, and was abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. In the consternation and despondency into which so general and sudden a desertion threw him, he formed such a resolution as despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse, advanced as far as the great square of the city, and there, falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans, that is, to his professed enemies. The singularity of this spectacle drew great numbers of people to it. The magistrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They first heard the orators, whose business was generally to address the people by their speeches; and these animated them prodigiously against Deucetius, as a public enemy, whom providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. A speech in this cast struck all the virtuous part of the assembly with horror. The most ancient and wisest of the senators represented, "That they were not "to consider what punishment Deucetius deserved, but how "it behoved the Syracusans to behave on that occasion; that "they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, "but as a suppliant, a character by which his person was "become sacred and inviolable: That there was a goddess, "Nemesis, who took vengeance of crimes, especially of "cruelty and impiety, and who doubtless would not suffer "that to go unpunished: that besides the baseness and inhumanity there is in insulting the unfortunate, and in crushing those who are already under one's foot, it was worthy "the grandeur and goodness natural to the Syracusans, to "exert their clemency even to those who least deserved it." All the people came into this opinion, and with one consent spared Deucetius' life. He was ordered to reside in Corinth, the metropolis and foundress of Syracuse; and the Syracusans engaged to furnish Deucetius with all things necessary for his subsisting honourably there. What reader, who compares these two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest and most generous?

SECTION II.

FAMOUS PERSONS AND CITIES IN GRÆCIA MAJOR, &c.

I. PYTHAGORAS.

IN treating of what relates to Græcia Major in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. ^d He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with the most excellent learning of every kind, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long stay in it, because of the tyrannical government Polycrates had established in it, who however had the highest regard for him, and shewed him all the esteem due to his rare merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is scarce compatible with slavery, though of the mildest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Croton, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Terentum. Servius Tullius ^e, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which absolutely refutes the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of an hundred years before, had been Pythagoras' disciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, dispositions, and principles.

* The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher. An inclination for study, and a love of wisdom, diffused themselves almost universally in a very short time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his presence; and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wisdom. His school became the most famous that had ever been till that age. He had no less than four or five hundred disciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, they were proba-

^d A. M. 3480. Ant. J. C. 524. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Pythag.

^e Liv. I. i. n. 18.

* Pythagoras, cum in Italianam venisset, exornavit eam Græciam, quæ Magna dicta est, et privatum et publice, præstantissimus et institutis et artibus.—Cic. Tuseul. Quæst. I. v. n. 10.

tioners five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the strictest silence, thinking it proper to them to be instructed before they should attempt to speak. I shall take notice of his tenets and sentiments, when I come to speak of the various sects of philosophers; it was well known, that the transmigration of souls was one of the chief of them. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and, if he did but barely aver a thing, he was immediately believed without its being once examined; and to affirm the truth of any thing, they used to express themselves in this manner, “^f The master said it.” However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all inquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that ought to be made only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superior to our reason and all our knowledge; and which, consequently, is authorised to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras bred a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators, great politicians, persons skilled in all the sciences, and capable of governing states, and being the ministers of the greatest princes*. A long time after his death, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character for several ages. ^g The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras’ virtue and merit, since the oracle of Delphos having commanded that people, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome, the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the “Comitium,” representing Pythagoras and Themistocles. Historians are not exact with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras’ death.

II. CROTON. SYBARIS. THURIUM. ^h Croton was founded by Mycellus, chief of the Achaeans, the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. This Mycellus being come to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo, about the spot on which

^f Αὐθός ἐφα.

^g Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

^h A. M. 3295.

Ant. J. C. 709. Strab. l. vi. p. 262. et 269. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. ii. p. 121.

* Pythagoras tenuit magnam illam Græciam honore, et disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque secula postea sic viguit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti videruntur.—Tusc. Quest. l. i. n. 38.

he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the same account. The god gave him a favourable audience; and, after having determined them with regard to the place that would best suit their new settlements, he proposed different advantages to them; and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches struck Archias, but Mycellus desired health; and if history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece.¹ Mycellus laid the foundations of Croton, which became so famous for the long life and innate strength of its inhabitants, that its name was used proverbially to signify a very healthy spot, whose air was extremely pure. The people of it signalized themselves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games, and Strabo relates, that in the same Olympiad, seven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympic games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

^k Sybaris was ten leagues, two hundred stadia, from Croton, and had also been founded by the Achaians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring states and twenty-five cities were subject to it, so that it was, alone, able to raise an army of three hundred thousand men. The opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury, and such a dissoluteness as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, shows, parties of pleasure, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments; and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in dressing dishes, and inventing new refinements to tickle the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all such artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, least their shrill piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.

All these evils were heightened by dissension and discord, which at last proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthiest in the city, having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Croton. Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and on the refusal of the Crotonians to

ⁱ Κρότωνος υγιεστέρος. ^k Strab. l. vi. p. 263. Athen. l. xii. p. 518.—520.
A. M. 3474. Ant. J. C. 538. Diod. l. xii. p. 76.—85.

deliver them up, prompted to this generous resolution by Pythagoras, who then lived among them, war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thousand men into the field, and the Crotonians only an hundred thousand ; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, of whom we shall have soon occasion to speak, over whose shoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a complete victory, and made a dreadful havoc of those who fled, so that very few escaped, and their city was depopulated. About threescore years after, some Thessalians came and settled in it ; however, they did not long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the most fatal extremity, they implored the succour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter moved to compassion at their deplorable condition, after causing proclamation to be made in Peloponnesus, that all who were willing to assist that colony were at liberty to do it, sent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ships, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

^m They built a city near the ancient Sybaris, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lysias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befel the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The second was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria, he was, however, considered as a native of Thurium, because he settled there with that colony. I shall speak more largely of him hereafter.

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on occasion of the new inhabitants, whom the rest would exclude from all public employments and privileges. But as these were much more numerous, they repulsed all the ancient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the alliance they made with the people of Croton, they soon grew vastly powerful ; and having settled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they sprung.

III. CHARONDAS, the legislator. They now bent their whole thoughts to the strengthening of their government by

^m A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444. Dionys. Halicarn. in Vit. Lys. p. 82. Strab. L. xix. p. 656.

wholesome laws; for which purpose they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras' school, to digest and draw them up. I shall quote some of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the senate, and all public employments, all such as should marry a second wife, in case any children by their first wife were living; being persuaded that any man who was so regardless of his children's interest, would be equally so of his country's, and be as worthless a magistrate as he had been a father.

2. He sentenced all false accusers to be carried through every part of the city, crowned with heath or broom, as the vilest of men; an ignominy which most of them were not able to survive. The city, thus delivered from those pests of society, was restored to its former tranquillity. And indeed * from calumniators generally arise all feuds and contests, whether of a public or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus' observation, they are too much tolerated in most governments.

3. He enacted a new kind of law against another species of pests, which in a state generally first occasions depravity of manners; by suffering all those to be prosecuted who should form a correspondence, or contract a friendship with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He required all the children of the citizens to be educated in the Belles Lettres; the effect of which is to polish and civilize the minds of men, inspiring them with gentleness of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which constitute the felicity of a state, and are equally necessary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed salaries (paid by the state) for masters and preceptors, in order that learning, by being communicated *gratis*, might be acquired by all. He considered ignorance as the greatest of evils, and the source whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with respect to orphans, which appears sufficiently judicious, by intrusting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's side, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their estates to their paternal relations, it being the interest of these to make the greatest advantage of them, since they would inherit them, in case of the demise of their wards.

* *Delatores, genus hominum publico exilio repertum, et paucus quidem, nunquam satis coercitum.*—*Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30.*

6. Instead of putting deserters to death, and those who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only sentenced them to make their appearance during three days in the city, drest in the habit of women ; imagining, that the dread of so ignominious a punishment would produce the same effect as putting to death, and being, at the same time, desirous of giving such cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too rashly or easily abrogated, he imposed a very severe and hazardous condition on all persons who should propose to alter or amend them in any manner. These were sentenced to appear in the public assembly with a halter about their neck ; and in case the alteration proposed did not pass, they were to be immediately strangled. There were but three amendments ever proposed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long survive his own laws. Returning one day from pursuing some thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the assembly, though he himself had prohibited this by an express law. A certain person objected to him in severe terms, that he violated his own laws ; “ I do not violate them,” says he, “ but thus seal them “ with my blood ;” saying which, he plunged his sword into his bosom, and expired.

IV. ZALEUCUS; another lawgiver. ⁿ At the same time there arose among the Locrians, another famous legislator Zaleucus by name, who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras’ disciple. There is now scarce any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a most advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly persuaded, that there are gods ; and adds, that the bare casting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are sufficient to convince us that it is impossible so wonderful a fabric could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural consequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and just among mortals ; and to honour them, not merely by sacrifices and splendid gifts, but by a sage conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners ; these being infinitely more grateful to the immortals, than all the sacrifices that can be offered.

After this religious exordium, in which he describes the

ⁿ Diod. l. xii. p. 79.—85.

Supreme Being as the source whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the most powerful motive for our faithful observance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform; he descends to the particulars of those duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preserve peace and unity in society, by enjoining the individuals of it not to make their hatred and dissensions perpetual, which would argue an unsocial and savage disposition, but to treat their enemies as men who would soon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magistrates, after representing to them, that, in pronouncing sentence, they ought never to suffer themselves to be biassed by friendship, hatred, or any other passion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the least haughtiness or severity towards the parties engaged in law, since such are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inseparable from law-suits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious soever it may be, is far from giving them a right to use the contending parties with ill nature; the very form and essence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do justice on all occasions; and when they distribute this even with mildness and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To banish luxury from his republic, which he looked upon as the certain destruction of a government, he did not follow the practice established in some nations, where it is thought sufficient, for the restraining it, to punish, by pecuniary mulcts, such as infringe the laws made on that occasion, but he acted, says the historian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the same time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and costly stuffs, embroidered robes, precious stones, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, gold rings, and such like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men; excepting, in the same manner, from the observance of it, such only as were willing to pass for debauchees and infamous wretches. By these regulations he easily, and without violence, preserved the citizens from the least approaches to luxury and effeminacy *. For no person was so abandoned

* *More inter veteres recepto, qui satis pœnarum adversus impudicas in ipsa professione flagitiis credebant.*—*Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 85.*

to all sense of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his shame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens ; since this would make him the public laughing-stock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

V. MILO, the champion. We have seen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. However, he was still more renowned for his athletic strength, than for his military bravery. He was surnamed Crotoniensis, from Croton the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous physician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had fled from Darius' court to Greece, his native country.

o Pausanias relates, that Milo, when but a child, was seven times victorious in one day at the Pythian games ; that he won six victories, at wrestling, in the Olympic games ; one of which was also gained in his childhood ; and that challenging a seventh time, in Olympia, any person to wrestle with him, he could not engage for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomegranate in such a manner, that without breaking it, he would grasp it so fast in his hand, that no force could possibly wrest it from him. He would stand so firm on a discus *, which had been oiled to make it the more slippery, that it was impossible to move him on these occasions. He would bind his head with a cord, after which, holding his breath strongly, the veins of his head would swell so prodigiously as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his side, stretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held close one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raised, the utmost strength of man could not separate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile ostentation of his strength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable use of it p. One day, as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, for he was one of his most constant disciples, the pillar which supported the cieling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength, gave the auditors some time to get away, and afterwards he escaped himself.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the Athletæ is almost incredible. q Milo's appetite was scarce satiated with

o Lib. vi. p. 369. 370.

p Strab. l. vi. p. 263.

q Athen. l. x. p. 412.

* This discus was a kind of quoit, flat and round.

twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the same quantity of bread, and three “congii *” of wine every day. Athenæus relates, that this champion, having run the whole length of the stadium with a bull of four years old on his shoulder, he afterwards knocked him down with one stroke of his fist, and eat the whole beast that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in so short a time?

^r We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, seeing the rest of the champions wrestling, and gazing upon his own arms which once were so vigorous and robust, but were then very much enfeebled by time, he burst into tears, and cried, “Alas! these arms are now dead.”

^s And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself, the strong persuasion he entertained of his own strength, and which he preserved to the last, proving fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak which had been opened by some wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to split it in two by his bare strength. But after forcing out the wedges, his arms were catched in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it closed; so that, being unable to disengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves.

^t An author has judiciously observed, that this surprisingly robust champion, who prided himself so much in his bodily strength, was the weakest of men with regard to a passion, which often subdues and captivates the strongest; a courtezan having gained so strong an ascendant over Milo, that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR OF PELOPONNESUS.

THE Peloponnesian war^u, which I am now entering upon, began about the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and lasted twenty-seven years. Thucydides has written the history of it to the twenty-first year inclusively. He gives us an accurate account of the several transactions of

^r Cic. de Senec. n. 27.

^s Pausan. l. vi. p. 370.

^t Ælian. l. ii. c. 24.

^u A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431.

* Thirty pounds, or fifteen quarts.

every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However I shall not be so minute, and shall only extract such parts of it as appear most entertaining and instructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will also be of great assistance to me on this occasion.

SECTION XII.

THE SIEGE OF PLATÆA BY THE THEBANS, &c. &c.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE first act of hostility by which the war began^u, was committed by the Thebans, who besieged Platæa, a city of Boeotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them, about two hundred excepted, who were taken prisoners, and who a little after were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of the action at Platæa, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broke, both sides prepared openly for war, and ambassadors were sent to all places to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the Greeks and Barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, some few states and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interest very warmly, because the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleness with which they commanded over others, had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greatest part of them by their pride and the severity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of those who were then subject to them, but of all such as were apprehensive of becoming their dependents. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time. The confederates of each of those states were as follow:

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achaians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, had also joined them; but the latter also engaged insensibly in that war. Out of Peloponnesus were the people of Megara, Locris, Boeotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium.

^u Thucyd. l. ii. p. 99.—122. Diod. l. xii. p. 97.—100. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Platæa, the Messenians of Naupactus; the greatest part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephalenians, and Zacynthians; besides the several tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria which lies near it, Ionia the Hellespont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis and Potidæa excepted; all the islands between Crete and Peloponnesus, eastward: and the Cyclades, Melos and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt on Platæa, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two-thirds of the troops marched to the isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, assembled the generals and chief officers, and calling up the remembrance of the great actions performed by their ancestors, and those they themselves had done or been eye-witnesses to, he exhorted them to support, with the utmost efforts of their valour, the pristine glory of their respective cities, as well as their own fame. He declared, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the issue of a war which would determine its fate, they were incessantly addressing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious; that, however, he could not deny that they were going to march against an enemy, who, though greatly inferior to themselves in numbers and in strength, were nevertheless very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whose courage would be still more inflamed by the sight of danger, and the laying waste of their territories *; that therefore they must exert themselves to the utmost, to spread an immediate terror in the country they were going to enter, and to inspire the allies with new vigour. The whole army answered in the loudest acclamations of joy, and assured their generals that they would do their duty.

The assembly breaking up, Archidamus, still zealous for the welfare of Greece, and meditating how he might best prevent a rupture, the dreadful consequences of which he foresaw, sent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they should come to hostilities, to prevail if possible with the Athenians to lay aside their designs, as otherwise an army would soon march into Attica. But the Athenians, so far from admitting him to

* Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni.—*Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 31*

audience or hearing his reasons, would not so much as suffer him to come into their city: Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambassador should be received from the Lacedæmonians, till they had first laid down their arms. In consequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day; and an escort was sent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his speaking to any person by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them that from that day great calamities would ensue to all Greece. Archidamus, seeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of sixty thousand chosen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered his country, declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste their territories, spare his, Pericles' lands, either on account of the right hospitality which subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies, and those who envied him, with a hand to slander him, as holding intelligence with him, he declared that from that day he made over all his lands and houses to the city of Athens. He remonstrated to the Athenians, that it was their interest to consume the enemy's troops by protracting the war; and that, for this purpose, they must immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and shut themselves up in it, without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppose the enemy. Their troops, including those in garrison, amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy-armed soldiers, and sixteen thousand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: and besides these, twelve hundred troopers, including the archers who rode on horseback, and sixteen hundred foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred gallies, part of which were ordered to lay waste the enemy's country, and the rest to awe the allies, on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expences of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their moveables, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houses, and even carried off the timber of them. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the island of Eubœa and the neighbouring isles. How-

ever, they were deeply afflicted at the sad and precipitate migration, and it even forced tears from their eyes. From the time the Persians left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the sweets of peace, wholly employed in cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now, sad fate of war ! they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitation in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of such confusion ; retiring either to their relations or friends ; and some withdrew even to the temples and other public places.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, being set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Cœnoe, which is the first fortress towards Boeotia. They employed a long time in preparing the attack, and raising the batteries ; for which reason complaints were made against Archidamus, as if he carried on the war indolently, because he had not approved of it. He was accused of being too slow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was also charged with having been too dilatory in raising the army, and having desired to give the Athenians opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country ; whereas they said, had he marched speedily into it, all they had might have been plundered and destroyed. His design, however, was to engage the Athenians, by these delays, to agree to an accommodation, and to prevent a rupture, the consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making several assaults, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, he raised the siege, and entered Attica in the midst of the harvest. Having laid waste the whole country, he advanced as far as Achiarnæ, one of the greatest towns near Athens, and about fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated to see him advanced so near, would sally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle. It indeed was a great mortification to the Athenians, haughty and imperious, to be braved and insulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think superior to themselves in courage. They were eye-witnesses of the dreadful havoc made of their lands, and saw all their houses and farms in a blaze. This sad spectacle was now so shocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore demanded fiercely to be led out against the Lacedæmonians, be the consequence what it would. Pericles saw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby hazard every thing, and expose their city to certain

destruction, should they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of sixty thousand fighting men, composed of the choicest troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponnesus. Besides, he had made it his chief maxim to spare the blood of the citizens, since that was an irreparable loss. Pursuing inflexibly, therefore, the plan he had laid down, and studious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and ardour of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to assemble either the senate or the people; lest they should form some fatal resolution, in spite of all the opposition in his power. His friends used all the intreaties imaginable to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other side, endeavoured to stagger him by their menaces and slanderous discourses. They strove to rouse him by songs and satires, in which they aspersed him as a man of a cowardly, insensible cast of mind, who basely gave up his country to the sword of the enemy. But no man shewed so much rancour against Pericles, as Cleon *. He was the son of a currier, and also followed that trade. He had raised himself by faction, and probably by a species of merit which those must possess who would rise in popular governments. He had a thundering, and at the same time a specious voice; and besides, he possessed, in a wonderful manner, the art of gaining the people, and bringing them over to his interest. It was he who enacted a law, that three oboli, not two as before, should be given to each of the six thousand judges. The characteristics which more immediately distinguished him were, an insupportable vain opinion of his own abilities; a ridiculous persuasion of his uncommon merits; and a boldness of speech, which he carried to so high a pitch of insolence as to spare no man. But none of those things could move Pericles. † His great strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours. Like a good pilot in a raging storm, who, after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions necessary, is studious of nothing but how to make the best use of his art, without suffering himself to be moved by the tears or intreaties of those whom fear has distracted: Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good posture of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprise, followed those counsels which his prudence suggested, entirely regardless of the complaints, the taunts, and licentious discourses of

* It is he whom Aristophanes has inveighed so much against, in several of his comedies.

† Spernendis rumoribus validus.—*Tacit.*

the citizens ; from a firm persuasion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. ^x It then appeared evidently, says Plutarch, that Pericles was absolute master of the minds of the Athenians, since he prevailed so far, at such a juncture as this, as to keep them from sallying out of the city, as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own possession ; and fixed, on their arms, the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold ; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to stir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet carried fire and sword into their territories, they raised their camp, and, after making dreadful havoc in the whole country through which they marched, they returned to Peloponnesus, and retired to their several homes.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occasion, in a quite different manner from what Themistocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes' approach, he made the Athenians march out of the city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflection will shew, that the circumstances differed widely. Themistocles, being invaded by all the forces of the east, justly concluded that it would be impossible for him to withstand, in a single city, those millions of Barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprived him of all hopes of being succoured by his allies. This is the reason given by Cicero. *Fluctum enim totius Barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat.* It was therefore prudent in him to retire for some time, and to let the confused multitude of Barbarians consume and destroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in so formidable and oppressive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foresaw it would allow him time to breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept close in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonstrances or murmurs of the citizens. Cicero ^y, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey formed and executed, to abandon Rome to Cæsar ; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have shut himself up in it with the senate, the magistrates, and the worthiest of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put

^x Plut. An seni ger. sit. resp. p. 784.

^y Lib. vii. Epist. 11.

troops into all the important posts both by sea and land, pursuant to the plan they intended to follow as long as the war continued. They also came to a resolution, to keep always a thousand talents in reserve *, and an hundred gallies ; and never to use them, except the enemy should invade Attica by sea : at the same time making it death for any man to propose the employing them any other way.

The gallies which had been sent into Peloponnesus made dreadful havoc there, which consoled the Athenians in some measure for the losses they had sustained. One day, as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entering his own ship, a sudden and total eclipse of the sun ensued, and the earth was overspread with the deepest gloom. This phænomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmost terror ; superstition and the ignorance of natural causes making them consider such events as fatal omens. Pericles seeing the pilot who was on board his ship astonished, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloke over his face, and asked him whether he saw : the pilot answering, that the cloke took away all object from his sight, Pericles then gave him to understand that a like cause, viz. the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun, prevented his seeing its splendour.

^z The first year of the war of Peloponnesus being now elapsed, the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized public funerals, according to ancient custom, a practice truly humane, and expressive of a just gratitude, in honour of those who had lost their lives in that campaign ; a ceremony they observed during the whole course of that war. For this purpose they set up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceased citizens were exposed, and every person strewed flowers, incense, perfumes, and things of the same kind, upon those remains. They afterwards were put on a kind of chariots, in coffins made of cypress wood, every tribe having its particular coffin and chariot ; but in one of the latter a large † empty coffin was carried, in honour of those whose bodies had not been found. The procession marched with a grave, majestic, and religious pomp ; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, assisted at this mournful solemnity. The relations of the deceased officers and soldiers stood weeping at the sepulchre. These bones were carried to a

^z Thucyd. I. ii. p. 122.—130.

* Three millions.

† These are called Cenotaphia.

public monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried in all ages, those who had lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalize their rare valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greatest distinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exercise this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the sepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and spoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has transmitted to us. Whether it was really composed by Pericles, or by the historian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both those great men, as well for the noble simplicity of the style, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the greatness of the sentiments which shine in every part of it. ^a After having paid, in so solemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauses, to the memory of those brave soldiers who had sacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country, the public, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful * incentive to animate the courage of the citizens; for great men are formed where merit is best rewarded.

About the close of the same campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace; and, in consequence of this treaty, his son was admitted a citizen of Athens. They also made an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, by restoring him the city of Thermæ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

SECTION II.

THE PLAGUE MAKES DREADFUL HAVOC IN ATTICA, &c. &c.

SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

IN the beginning of the second campaign ^b, the enemy made an incursion into the country as before, and laid it waste. But the plague made a much greater devastation in Athens;

^a Thucyd. I. ii. p. 130. ^b A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430. Thucyd. I. ii. p. 130.—147. Diod. p. 101. 102. Plut. in Peric. p. 171.

* Αἴλα γὰρ τοῖς κεῖται ἀριστῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ὕρεσοι πολιτεύουσι.

the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence spread over Lybia, and a great part of Persia; and at last broke at once like a flood upon Athens. Thucydides, who himself was seized with that deadly disease, has described very minutely the several circumstances and symptoms of it; in order, says he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like should ever happen. ^c Hippocrates, who was employed to visit the sick, has also described it in a medical, and ^d Lucretius in a poetical way. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; and the greatest care and skill of the physicians were a feeble help to those who were infected. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The assistance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all such of their relations as had the courage to approach them. The prodigious quantity of baggage, which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, during the raging heat of the summer, so that they were seen either piled one upon the other, the dead as well as those who were dying, or else crawling through the streets; or lying along by the side of fountains, to which they had dragged themselves, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity.

^e The plague, before it spread into Attica, had made wild havoc in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the mighty reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greatest physician of that or any other age, caused his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers; setting no bounds to his rewards on the side of interest, and, with regard to honours, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was shewn to the Grecian physicians

^c Epidem. I. iii. § 3.

^d Lib. ii. c. 47.

^e Hippocrat. in Epist.

in Persia ; and indeed, was it possible that so useful a man as Hippocrates could be too well rewarded ? However, all the glitter of the Persian riches and dignities were not capable to corrupt him, nor stifle the hatred and aversion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Persians, ever since the latter had invaded them. This great physician, therefore, sent no other answer but this, that he was free from either wants or desires ; that he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen ; and was under no obligation to Barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece. Kings are not used to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time, commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment ; and threatening, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least footsteps of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders ; that Artaxerxes' threats would be equally impotent ; that, let what would be the consequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizens ; and that they depended upon the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that he owed himself entirely to his country. And indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city, till the plague was quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick ; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples into all parts of the country, after having instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with the deepest sense of gratitude, for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained, by a public decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter ; that a crown of gold should be presented him, of the value of a thousand staters *, amounting to five hundred pistoles French money ; and that the decree by which it was granted him, should be read aloud by a herald in the public games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa : that the freedom of

* The Attic Stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original, *χειροτόνη κίλιων*.

the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the public charge, in the Prytaneum all his lifetime, in case he thought proper: in fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whose city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time the enemy, having marched into Attica, came down towards the coast, and, advancing still forward, laid waste the whole country. Pericles still adhering to the maxim he had established, not to expose the safety of the state to the hazard of a battle, would not suffer his troops to sally out of the city: however, before the enemy left the plains, he sailed to Peloponnesus with an hundred galleys, in order to hasten their retreat by his making so powerful a diversion; and after having made a dreadful havoc, as he had done the first year, he returned into the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet, and it spread to those troops that were besieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who saw their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and pestilence, began to despond, and to murmur against Pericles; considering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They then sent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them: however, the ambassadors returned back without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afresh; and the whole city was in such a trouble and confusion, as seemed to prognosticate the worst of evils. Pericles, in the midst of this universal consternation, could not forbear assembling the people; and endeavoured to soften, and at the same time to encourage them, by justifying himself. “The real sons,” says he, “which determined you to undertake this war, and which you approved at that time, are still the same, and are not changed by the alteration of circumstances, which neither you nor myself could foresee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the former would certainly have been the more eligible: but as there was no other means for preserving your liberty but by drawing the sword, was it possible for you to hesitate? If we are citizens who truly love our country, will our private misfortunes make us neglect the common wel-

“ fare of the state? Every man feels the evil which afflicts
“ him, because it is present; but no one is sensible of the
“ good which will result from it, because it is not come.
“ Have you forgot the strength and grandeur of your em-
“ pire? Of the two parts which form this globe of ours, viz.
“ the land and sea, you have absolute possession of the latter;
“ and no king, or any other power, is able to oppose your
“ fleets. It is now your duty to preserve this glory, and this
“ empire, or to resign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved
“ because you are deprived of a few country-houses and gar-
“ dens, which ought to be considered no otherwise than as
“ the frame of the picture, though you would seem to make
“ them the picture itself. Consider, that if you do but pre-
“ serve your liberty, you will easily recover them; but that
“ should you suffer yourselves to be deprived of this blessing,
“ you will lose every valuable possession with it. Do not
“ shew less generosity than your ancestors, who for the sake
“ of preserving it, abandoned even their city; and who,
“ though they had not inherited such a glory from their an-
“ cestors, yet suffered the worst of evils, and engaged in the
“ most perilous enterprises, to transmit it to you. I will
“ confess that your present calamities are exceedingly griev-
“ ous, and I myself am duly sensible and deeply afflicted for
“ them. But is it just in you to exclaim against your general,
“ merely for an accident that was not to be diverted by all
“ the prudence of a man; and to make him responsible for
“ an event in which he has not the least concern? We must
“ submit patiently to those evils which heaven inflicts upon
“ us, and vigorously oppose such as arise from our fellow-
“ creatures. As to the hatred and jealousy which attend on
“ your prosperity, they are the usual lot of all who believe
“ themselves worthy of commanding. However, hatred and
“ envy are not long-lived, but the glory that accompanies
“ exalted actions is immortal. Revolve therefore perpetual-
“ ly in your minds, how shameful and ignominious it is for
“ men to bow the neck to their enemies, and how glorious it
“ is to triumph over them; and then, animated by this double
“ reflection, march on to danger with joy and intrepidity,
“ and do not crouch so tamely to the Lacedæmonians;
“ and call to mind, that those who display the greatest
“ bravery and resolution in dangers, acquire the most es-
“ teem and applause.”

The motives of honour and fame, the remembrance of the great actions of their ancestors, the soothing title of sovereigns

of Greece, and, above all, the jealousy of Sparta, the ancient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the usual motives which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athenians, and had hitherto never failed of success. But on this occasion, the sense of the present evils prevailed over every other consideration, and stifled all other thoughts. The Athenians, indeed, did not design to sue the Lacedæmonians any more for peace, but the sight and presence only of Pericles was insupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the command of the army, and sentenced him to pay a fine which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen talents *, and according to others fifty.

However, this public disgrace of Pericles was not to be very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by the first effort, and had spent itself in the injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves the sting in the wound. But he was not now so happy with regard to his domestic evils; for, besides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in his family. Xanthippus, his eldest son, who himself was extremely profuse, and had married a young wife no less extravagant, could not bear his father's exact economy, who allowed him but a very small sum for his pleasures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refused to pay, but even prosecuted him for it. Xanthippus was so enraged, that he inveighed in the most heinous terms against his father, exclaiming against him in all places, and ridiculing openly the assemblies he held at his house, and his conferences with the Sophists. He did not know, that a son, though treated unjustly, which was far otherwise in his case, ought to submit patiently to the injustice of his father, as a citizen is obliged to suffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the same time Pericles lost his sister, with many of his relations and best friends, whose assistance he most needed in the administration. But he did not sink under these losses; his strength of mind was not shaken by them; and he was not seen to weep or shew the usual marks of sorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate children. That rude stroke quite amazed him, though he

* Fifteen or fifty thousand French crowns.

did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not shew any outward symptoms of sorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead son, he could not support the cruel spectacle, nor stifle the transports of his grief, which forced its way in cries, in sobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, misled by the principles of a false philosophy, imagined, that bewailing the death of his relations and children, would betray a weakness that no way suited the greatness of soul he had ever shewn; and on this occasion, the sensibility of the father would sully the glory of the conqueror. Exceeding error! childish illusion! which either makes heroism consist in wild and savage cruelty, or, leaving the same grief and confusion in the mind, assumes a vain outside of constancy and resolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguish nature? Is a man dead to all humane sentiments, because he makes a considerable figure in the state? Antoninus the emperor had a much juster way of thinking, when on occasion of Marcus Aurelius' lamenting the death of the person who had brought him up, he said, "Suffer him to be a man, for neither philosophy "nor sovereignty renders us insensible*."

Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to the greatest excesses, they soon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleness. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earnestly wished to see him again in their assemblies. By dint of suffering they began to bear patiently their domestic misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardour for reinstating its affairs, they did not know any person more capable than Pericles of the administration. Pericles, at that time, never stirred out of his house, and was in the utmost grief at the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades and the rest of his friends intreated him to go abroad, and shew himself in public. The people asked him pardon for their ungrateful usage of him; and Pericles, moved with their intreaties, and persuaded that it did not become a good man to harbour the least resentment against his country, resumed the government.

* Permitte illi ut homo sit: neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus.—Jul. Capitol. in Vit. Antonini Pii.

About the end of the second campaign, some ambassadors had set out from Lacedæmon, in order to solicit the king of Persia's alliance, and engage him to furnish a sum of money for maintaining the fleet : this reflected great ignominy on the Lacedæmonians, who called themselves the deliverers of Greece, since they thereby retracted or sullied the glorious actions they had formerly attiehived in her defence against Persia. They went by the way of Thrace, in order to disengage, if possible, Sitacles from the alliance of the Athenians, and prevail with him to succour Potidæa. But they here met with some Athenian ambassadors, who caused them to be arrested as disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards to be sent to Athens, where, without suffering them to be heard, they were put to death that same day, and their bodies thrown into the open fields, by way of reprisal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the same inhuman manner. It is scarce possible to conceive how two cities, which a little before were so strongly united, and ought to have shewn a mutual civility and forbearance for each other, could contract so inveterate a hatred, and break into such cruel acts of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, humanity, and nations ; and prompted them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with Barbarians.

Potidæa had now been besieged almost three years ; when the inhabitants, reduced to extremities, and in such want of provisions that some fed on human flesh, and not expecting any succours from the Peloponnesians, whose attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, surrendered on conditions. The circumstances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the severity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the besiegers ; and the prodigious expence of the siege, which had already cost * two thousand talents†. They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well as citizens and foreigners, with each but one suit of clothes, and the women two, and only a little money to carry them home. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order ; because otherwise,

* The army which besieged Potidæa consisted of three thousand men, exclusive of the sixteen hundred who had been sent under the command of Phormio. Every soldier received daily two drachms, or twenty-pence French, for master and man : and those of the gallies had the same pay.—Thucyd. llii. p. 182.

† Six millions.

as the citizens were reduced to the utmost extremities, they would have surrendered at discretion. They sent a colony thither.

^f The first thing that Pericles did, after his being re-elected generalissimo, was to propose the abrogating of that law, which he himself had caused to be enacted against bastards, when there were legitimate children. It declared, that such only should be considered as true and legitimate Athenians, whose fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed just before with the utmost rigour. For the king ^{*} of Egypt having sent to Athens a present of forty thousand measures of corn to be distributed among the people, the bastards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thousand difficulties, till then unpractised, and which had not been so much as thought of. Near five thousand of them were condemned and sold as slaves, whilst fourteen thousand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recognized as true Athenians. It was thought very strange, that the author and promoter of this law should himself desire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compassion at the domestic calamities of Pericles; so that they permitted him to enter his bastard, in his own name, in the register of the citizens of his tribe.

A little after he himself was infected with the pestilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends as had not forsaken him, discoursing together in his bed-chamber about his real merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for whilst he was generalissimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were saying, because he seemed to have lost his senses; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence, "I am surprised," says he, "that you should treasure up so well in your memories, and extol so highly, a series of actions, in which fortune had so great a share, and which are common to me with so many other generals; and at the same time should forget the

^f A. M. 3575. Ant. J. C. 429.

* Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, son to Psammetichus king of Libya, who had caused part of the Egyptians to take up arms against Artaxerxes, and to whom the Athenians, above thirty years before, had sent succours against the Persians.—Thucyd. L i. p. 68.

"most glorious circumstance in my life; I mean, my never having caused a single citizen to put on mourning." Excellent words! which very few in high stations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.

The reader has doubtless observed, from what has been said of Pericles, that in him were united most qualities which constitute the great man; as those of the admiral, by his great skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conquests and victories; of the high treasurer, by the excellent order in which he put the finances; of the great politician, by the extent and justness of his views, by his eloquence in public deliberations, and by the dexterity and address with which he transacted affairs; of a minister of state, by the methods he employed to increase trade and promote the arts in general; in fine, of father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view as the true scope and end of his administration.

But I must not omit another characteristic which was peculiar to him. He acted with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness, and zeal for the public good; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed in his own favour, during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural fickleness and inconstancy. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all citizens distinguished by their merit and great authority. But the most surprising circumstance is, he gained his great ascendant merely by persuasion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of those arts which a mean politician excuses in himself, upon the specious pretence, that the necessity of the public affairs, and reasons of state, made them necessary.

Anaxagoras^b died the same year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumstance concerning him, which happened some time before, which must not be omitted. He says, that this philosopher, who had voluntarily reduced himself to excessive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leisure to pursue his studies; finding himself neglected in his old age by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the public affairs, had not always time to think of him, wrapped his cloke about his

^b Plut. in Peric. p. 162.

head *, and threw himself on the ground, in the fixed resolution to starve himself. Pericles hearing of this accidentally, ran with the utmost haste to the philosopher's house in the deepest affliction. He conjured him, in the strongest and most moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras, but himself, that was to be lamented, if he was so unfortunate as to lose so wise and faithful a friend ; one who was so capable of giving him wholesome counsels with regard to the pressing occasions of the state. Anaxagoras then, uncovering his head a little, spoke thus to him : " Pericles, those who use a lamp take care to feed it with oil." This was a gentle, and at the same time a strong and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have supplied his wants unasked. Many lamps are extinguished in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of those who ought to supply them.

SECTION III.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS BESIEGE PLATÆA.

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

THE most remarkable transaction of the following years ^c, was the siege of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and their bold and industrious stratagem, by which several of them got out of the city, and by that means escaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent to it, the Platæans sent some deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occasion, to represent, that he could not attack them with the least shadow of justice, because that, after the famous battle of Platæa, Pausanias, the Grecian general, offering up a sacrifice in their city to Jupiter the Deliverer, in presence of all the allies, had given them their freedom, to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, since it had been

^c A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 426. Thucyd. I. ii. p. 147.—151. Diod. I. xxii. p. 102.—109.

* It was the custom for those to cover their heads with their clokes, who were reduced to despair, and resolved to die.

granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus answered, that their demand would be very reasonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the professed enemies to the liberty of Greece; but that, if they would disengage themselves from their present alliance, or at least remain neuter, they then should be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not possibly come to any agreement, without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and their children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; when the Athenians promising solemnly to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Platæans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was desired.

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witness that he did not first infringe the alliance, and was not the cause of the calamities which might befall the Platæans, for having refused the just and reasonable conditions offered them, prepared for the siege. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very close together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any person from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to set the batteries on; in hopes that, as so many hands were employed, they should soon take the city. He therefore caused trees to be felled on mount Cithæron, and interwove them with fascines, in order to support the terra on all sides; he then threw in wood, earth, and stones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the least intermission, during seventy days; one half of the soldiers reposing themselves whilst the rest were at work.

The besieged observing that the work began to rise, they threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city opposite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers, and filled the hollow of this wooden wall with the brick they took, with the rubbish of the neighbouring houses; so that the wall of timber served in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outside, with hides both raw and dry, in order to shelter the works and the workmen from the fires discharged against it. In proportion as it rose, the platform was raised also, which in this manner was raised to a great height. But the besieged made a hole in the opposite wall,

in order to carry off the earth that sustained the platform; which the besiegers perceiving, they put large paniers filled with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, because they could not be so easily carried off. The besieged, therefore, finding their first stratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to shelter themselves, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was composed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The besiegers were a considerable time without perceiving this, till at last they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the weaker it grew. But the besieged, judging that the superiority of numbers would at length prevail, without amusing themselves any longer at this work, on carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery, they contented themselves with building another within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that the besieged might retire behind it when the first wall should be forced, and so oblige the enemy to make fresh works.

In the mean time the besiegers, having set up their machines, doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not say this, shook the city-wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however discourage them. They employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect of the battering rams, by ropes * which turned aside their strokes. They also employed another artifice; the two ends of a great beam were made fast by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, supported at due distance upon the wall in the nature of a balance: so that, whenever the enemy played their machine, the besieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall back on the head of the battering ram, which quite deadened its force, and consequently made it of no effect.

The besiegers, finding the attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place, and therefore changed the siege into a blockade. However, they first endeavoured to set fire to it, imagining that the town might easily be burnt down, as it was so small, whenever a strong wind

* The end downward of these ropes formed a variety of slip-knots, with which they caughted the head of the battering-ram, which they raised up by the help of the machine.

should rise ; for they employed all the artifices imaginable, to make themselves masters of it as soon as possible, and with little expence. They therefore threw fascines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the intrenchment with which they had surrounded them ; and filled these intervals in a very little time, because of the multitude of hands employed by them ; in order to set fire, at the same time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and sulphur, which in a moment made such a prodigious blaze, that the like was never seen. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others ; for the besieged could not make head at once against the fire and the enemy in several parts of the town ; and had the weather favoured the besiegers, as they flattered themselves it would, it had certainly been taken : but history informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguished the fire.

This last effort of the besiegers having been defeated as successfully as all the rest, they now turned the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the city with a brick wall, strengthened on each side with a deep fossé. The whole army was engaged successively in this work, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it, the Boeotians offering to guard the rest ; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta about the month of October. There were now, in Platæa, but four hundred inhabitants, and foursore Athenians ; with an hundred and ten women to dress their victuals ; and no other person, whether freeman or slave, all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

During the campaign, some engagements were fought both by sea and land, which I omit, because of no importance.

^d The next summer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymne excepted, resolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had designed to rebel before the war was declared, but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymne sent advice of this to the Athenians, assuring them, that if an immediate succour was not sent, the island would be inevitably lost. The affliction of the Athenians, who had sustained great losses by the war and the plague, was greatly increased, when news was brought of the revolt of so considerable an island, whose forces, which were quite fresh, would now join the enemy, and reinforce

^a Thucyd. I. iii. p. 174.—207. Diod. I. xii. p. 108. 109.

them on a sudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore sent forty gallies designed for Peloponnesus, which accordingly sailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, though in great consternation because they were quite unprepared, yet put on an appearance of bravery, and sailed out of the port with their ships; however, being repulsed, they proposed an accommodation, which the Athenians listened to, from an apprehension that they were not strong enough to reduce the island to their allegiance. A suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mitylenians sent ambassadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them send others to Lacedæmonia, to desire succours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians sending them an answer which they had no reason to interpret in their favour.

The ambassadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the solemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I shall repeat their whole speech on that occasion, as it may serve at once to give a just idea of Thucydides' style, and of the several states with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. "We are sensible," said the ambassadors, "that it is the custom to use deserters well at first, "because of the service they do those whom they fly to; "but to despise them afterwards, as traitors to their country "and friends. This is far from being unjust, when they "have no inducement to such a change, when the same "union subsists, and the same aids are reciprocally granted. "But it is far otherwise between us and the Athenians; and "we entreat you not to be prejudiced against us, because, "after having been treated mildly by the Athenians during "the peace, we now renounced their alliance when they are "unfortunate. For, being come hither to demand admittance into the number of your friends and allies, we ought "to begin our own justification, by shewing the justice and "necessity of our procedure; it being impossible for a true "friendship to be established between individuals, or a solid "alliance between cities, unless both are founded on virtue, "and uniformity of principles and sentiments.

"To come to the point: the treaty we concluded with the "Athenians, was not to enslave Greece, but to free it from "the yoke of the Barbarians; and it was concluded after the "retreat of the Persians, when you renounced the command.

“ We adhered to it with pleasure, so long as the Athenians
“ continued to entertain just designs; but, when we saw that
“ they discontinued the war they were carrying on against
“ the enemy, merely to oppress the allies, we could not but
“ suspect their conduct. And as it was extremely difficult,
“ in so great a diversity of interests and opinions, for all of
“ them to continue in strict union, and still harder to make
“ head against them when alone and separated, they have
“ subjected, by insensible degrees, all the allies, except the
“ inhabitants of Chios, and our people; and used our own
“ forces for this end. For, at the same time that they left
“ us seemingly at our liberty, they obliged us to follow them;
“ though we could no longer rely on their words, and had
“ the strongest reason to fear the like treatment. And in-
“ deed, what probability is there, after their enslaving all the
“ other states, that they should shew a regard to us only, and
“ admit us upon the foot of equals, if they may become our
“ masters whenever they please; especially as their power
“ increases daily, in proportion as ours lessens? A mutual
“ fear between confederates, is a strong motive to make an
“ alliance lasting, and to prevent unjust and violent attempts,
“ by its keeping all things in an equilibrium. Their leaving
“ us the enjoyment of our liberties, was merely because they
“ could not entrench upon them by open force, but only by
“ that equity and specious moderation they have shewn us.
“ First, they pretended to prove, from their moderate con-
“ duct in regard to us, that as we are free, we should not
“ have marched in conjunction with them against the other
“ allies, had they not given them just grounds for complaint.
“ Secondly, by attacking the weakest first, and subduing
“ them one after another, they enabled themselves, by their
“ ruin, to subject the powerful without difficulty, who at last
“ would be left alone and without support; whereas, had
“ they begun by invading us, at the time that the allies were
“ possessed of all their troops, and were able to make some
“ stand, they could not so easily have completed their designs.
“ Besides, as we had a large fleet, which would strengthen
“ considerably whatever party we should declare for, this
“ was a check upon them. Add to this, that the high re-
“ gard we have always shewn for their republic, and the en-
“ deavours we have used to gain the favour of those who
“ commanded it, have suspended our ruin. But we had
“ been undone, had not this war broke out; which the fate
“ of others leaves no room to doubt.

“ What friendship, then, what lasting alliance can be concluded with those who are never friends and allies, but when force is employed to make them continue such? For, as they were obliged to caress us during the war, to prevent our joining with the enemy; we were constrained to treat them with the same regard in time of peace, to prevent their falling upon us. That which love produces in other places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this circumstance that made an alliance subsist some time, which both parties were determined to break upon the very first favourable occasion: let therefore no one accuse us for the advantage we now take. We had not always the same opportunity to save, as they had to ruin us: but were under the necessity of waiting one, before we could venture to declare ourselves.

“ Such are the motives which now oblige us to solicit your alliance; the equity and justice of which appear very strong to us, and consequently call on us to provide for our safety: we should have claimed your protection before, had you been sooner inclined to afford it us; for we offered ourselves to you even before the war broke out: we are now come at the persuasion of the Boeotians your allies, to disengage ourselves from the oppressors of Greece; and join our arms with its defenders; and to provide for the security of our state, which is now in imminent danger. If any thing can be objected to our conduct, it is our declaring so precipitately, with more generosity than prudence, and without having made the least preparations. But this also ought to engage you to be more ready in succouring us; that you may not lose the opportunity of protecting the oppressed, and avenging yourselves on your enemies. There never was a more favourable conjuncture than that which now offers itself; a conjuncture, when war and pestilence have consumed their forces, and exhausted their treasure: not to mention that their fleet is divided, by which means they will not be in a condition to resist you, should you invade them at the same time by sea and land. For they either will leave us to attack you, and give us an opportunity of succouring you; or they will oppose us all together, and then you will have but half their forces to deal with.

“ For the rest, let no one imagine that you will expose yourselves to dangers for a people incapable of doing you service. Our country indeed lies at a considerable distance from you, but our aid is near at hand. For the war

" will be carried on, not in Attica, as is supposed, but in
 " that country whose revenues are the support of Attica,
 " and we are not far from it. Consider also, that in aban-
 " doning us, you will increase the power of the Athenians
 " by the addition of ours; and that no state will then dare
 " to take up arms against them. But in succouring us, you
 " will strengthen yourselves with a fleet, which you so much
 " want; you will induce many other people, after our ex-
 " ample, to join you; and you will take off the reproach
 " cast upon you, of abandoning those who have recourse to
 " your protection, which will be no inconsiderable advan-
 " tage to you during the course of the war.

" We therefore implore you, in the name of Jupiter
 " Olympius, in whose temple we now are, not to frustrate
 " the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject suppliants, whose
 " preservation may be highly advantageous, and whose ruin
 " may be infinitely pernicious to you. Shew yourselves such
 " now as the idea entertained of your generosity, and the
 " extreme danger to which we are reduced, may demand;
 " that is, the protectors of the afflicted, and the deliverers
 " of Greece."

The allies, struck with these reasons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponnesus. An incursion into the enemies' country was immediately resolved, and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth with two thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians arrived first, and prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulph of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by sea and land. The Athenians were no less active on their side; but the allies, being employed in their harvest, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all these preparations were made against them, from a supposition that they were very weak; to undeceive the world, and shew that they alone were able to support a fleet without the aid of Lesbos, put to sea a fleet of an hundred sail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a single citizen, except such only as were obliged to serve on horseback, or whose revenue amounted to five hundred measures of corn. After having shewed themselves before the isthmus of Corinth, the more to display their power, they made descents into whatever parts of Peloponnesus they pleased.

The world never saw a finer fleet. The Athenians guard-

ed their own country, and the coasts of Eubœa and Salamis, with a fleet of an hundred ships: they cruized round Peloponnesus with another fleet of the like number of vessels, without including their fleet before Lesbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty galleys. The expences of this powerful armanent entirely exhausted their treasure, which had been very much drained before by that of the siege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprised at so formidable a fleet, which they no ways expected, returned with the utmost expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty galleys to be fitted out for the succour of Mitylene. The Athenians had sent a reinforcement thither, consisting of a thousand heavy-armed troops, by whose assistance they made a contravallation, with forts in the most commodious places; so that it was blocked up, both by sea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in such great want of money for carrying on this siege, that they were reduced to assess themselves, which they had never done before, and by this means two hundred * talents were sent to it.

^e The people of Mitylene being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpose for the succours which the Lacedæmonians had promised them, surrendered, upon condition that no person should be put to death or imprisoned till the ambassadors, whom they should send to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops should be admitted into the city. As soon as the Athenians had got possession of the city, such of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exasperated the people, because not preceded by any ill treatment, and it seemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the first transports of their rage, they resolved to put all the citizens to death indiscriminately, and to make all the women and children slaves; and immediately they sent a galley to put the decree in execution.

But night gave them leisure to make different reflections. This severity was judged too cruel, and carried farther than consisted with justice. They imagined to themselves the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to slaughter, and repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty.

^e A. M. 3577. Ant. J. C. 427.

* Two hundred thousand crowns, about L. 45,000 Sterling.

This sudden change of the Athenians gave the Mitylenean ambassadors some little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed so far with the magistrates as to have the affair debated a second time. Cleon, who had suggested the first decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great authority over the people, maintained his opinion with great vehemence and heat. He represented, that it was unworthy a wise government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before; and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance of the Mityleneans, in order to awe the rest of their allies, who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his reflections more strongly than before. After describing, in a tender and pathetic manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whose minds, he said, must necessarily be on the rack, whilst they were expecting a sentence that was to determine their fate, he represented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildness and clemency had always reflected the highest honour on them, and distinguished them gloriously from all other nations: he observed, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their surrendering the city to them the instant it was in their power to do it; they therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors, and consequently be both unjust and ungrateful, in punishing the innocent with the guilty. He observed further, that supposing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the interest of the Athenians to dissemble, in order that the rigorous punishment they had decreed might not exasperate the rest of the allies; and that the best way to put a stop to the evil, would be to leave room for repentance, and not plunge people into despair, by the absolute and irrevocable refusal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they should examine very deliberately the cause of those factious Mityleneans who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the rest.

The assembly was very much divided, so that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A second galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furnished with every thing that might accelerate its course; and the ambassadors of Mitylene promised a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived time enough. They therefore did not quit their oars, even when they took sustenance, but eat and drank as they

rowed, and took their rest alternately; and, very happily for them, the wind was favourable. The first gally had got a day and night's sail before them, but as those on board carried ill news, they did not make great haste. Its arrival before the city had sprcad the utmost consternation in every part of it; but it increased infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were sentenced to die, was rcad in a full assembly. Nothing was now heard in all places but cries and loud lamcts. The moment the sentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a sccond galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assenby was again convened; and the decree which granted a pardon was listened to with such a silence and joy, as is much easier conceived than expressed.

All the factious Mitylencans, though upwards of a thousand, were put to death. The city was afterwards dismantled, the ships delivered up, and the whole island, the city of Methymne excepted, was divided into three thousand parts or portions, three hundred of which were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the rest divided by lot among such Athenians as were sent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revcnue of two * minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep possession of the island, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coast of Asia, were all subject-ed by the Athenians.

^b During the winter of the preceding campaign, the inhabitants of Platæa, having lost all hopes of succour, and bcing in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to cut their way through the enemy: but half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and the boldncss of the enterprize, entirely lost courage when they came to the execution; but the rest, who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers, persisted in their resolution, and escapcd in the following manner.

Before I begin the description of their escape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what sense I use certain expressions I shall employ in it. In strictness of speech, the line or fortification which is made round a city when besieged, to prevent sallies, is called Contravallation; and that which is made to prevent any succours from without, is named Circumvallation. Both these fortifications were used in this

^b Thucyd. l. iii. p. 185.—188.

* The Attic mina was worth an hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.

siege ; however, for brevity's sake, I shall use only the former term.

The contravallation consisted of two walls, at sixteen feet distance one from the other. The space between the two walls, being a kind of platform or terrass, seemed to be but one single building, and composed a range of caserns or barracks, where the soldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers were built around at proper distances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themselves at the same time against any attack from within and without. There was no going from one casern to another without crossing those towers ; and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both sides, where a guard was commonly kept ; but in rainy weather, the soldiers used to shelter themselves in the towers, which served in the nature of guard-houses. Such was the contravallation, on both sides of which was a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The besieged first took the height of the wall by counting the rows of bricks which composed it ; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because, as the wall stood but at a small distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near to the wall undiscovered through the darkness of the night : not to mention that the noise made by the wind and rain prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active ; and one of their legs was naked to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier ; and their shields were carried after them to be used in the charge.

When most of these were got to the top of the wall, they

were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the wall without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night, and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion ; so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a corps de reserve, of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise ; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to shew that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the wall for that purpose.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set, and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage and keep off the besiegers. Then, setting ladders from the top of the wall against the two towers, they caused a good number of their comrades to mount in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were hastening from the neighbouring towers. Whilst this was doing, they had time to set up several ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side, and drew up near the fossé on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, and made to the fossé to follow after the rest.

That instant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However, as the Platæans saw their enemis by this light better than they were seen by them, they took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch, without being attacked in their passage : however, this was not done without difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them.

After all were passed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat ; because it was not likely

that they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about six or seven * stadia, they turned short toward the mountain, and resumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the rest having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the fossé of contravallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed, because those who were returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were, sent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

c About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Platæans, being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered upon condition that they should not be punished till they had been tried and adjudged in form of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon; and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Platæans were much surprised as well as puzzled at this question; and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium and that of Platæa; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason, they declared, of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose: that if that was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not however entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast "your eyes," said they, "on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the manes of the dead.

c Thucyd. I. iii. p. 208.—220. Diod. I. xii. p. 109.

* Upwards of a quarter of a league.

“ You thought fit to intrust their bodies with us, as we were “ eye-witnesses of their bravery : and yet you will now give “ up their ashes to their murderers, in abandoning us to the “ Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Platæa. “ Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its “ liberty ? Will you destroy the temples of those gods to “ whom you owe the victory ? Will you abolish the memory “ of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safe- “ ty ? On this occasion, we may venture to say, our interest “ is inseparable from your glory ; and you cannot deliver up “ your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred “ of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourselves.”

One would conclude, that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most bitter and haughty terms against the Platæans ; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They stood therefore to their first question, “ Whether the Platæans had done them any “ service since the war ?” and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered No, he was immediately butchered, and not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner ; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken prisoners, were made slaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Platæa ; but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Platæans to their animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

^d In the sixth year of the war of Peloponnesus, the plague broke out anew in Athens, and again swept away great numbers.

SECTION IV.

THE ATHENIANS POSSESS THEMSELVES OF PYLUS, &c.

SIXTH AND SEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

I PASS over several particular incidents of the succeeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another ; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incursions into

d A. M. 3578. Att. J. C. 426. Thucyd. I. viii. p. 232.

Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponnesus: I likewise omit some sieges in different places : ^ethat of Pylus, a little city of Messenia, only four * hundred furlongs from Lacedæmon, was one of the most considerable. The Athenians, headed by Demosthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themselves very strongly in it; this was the seventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover, if possible, that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by sea and land. Brasidas, one of their leaders, signalized himself here by the most extraordinary acts of bravery. Opposite to the city was a little island called Sphacteria, whence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up. They therefore threw a chosen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, four hundred and twenty, exclusive of the helotes. A battle was fought at sea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They surrounded the island, and set a guard in every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any provisions from being brought in to them.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magistrate thought the affair of the utmost importance, and therefore came himself upon the spot, in order that he might be better able to take proper measures; when, concluding that it would be impossible for him to save those who were on the island, and that they at last must necessarily be starved out, or be taken by some other means, he proposed an accommodation. A suspension of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to send to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they should surrender up all their galleys, and not attack the place either by sea or land, till the return of the ambassadors: that if they complied with these conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry provisions to those who were in the island, at the † rate of so much for the master, and half for the servant; and that the whole should be done publicly, and in sight of both armies: that, on the other side, the Athenians should be allowed to keep guard round the island, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but should not attack it in any manner;

^e A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Thucyd. I. iv. p. 253.—280. Diod. I. xii. p. 112.—114.

* Twenty French leagues.

† For the masters, two Attic chœnices of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat; with half this quantity for the servants.

that in case this agreement should be infringed in the least, the truce should be broke; otherwise, that it should continue in full force till the return of the ambassadors, whom the Athenians obliged themselves, by the articles, to convey backwards and forwards; and that then the Lacedæmonians should have their ships restored, in the same condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by surrendering about threescore ships; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by saying, that they were come to the Athenians to sue for that peace which they themselves were, a little before, in a condition to grant: that they now might acquire the glory of having restored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians consented to their being arbitrators in this treaty: that the danger to which their citizens were exposed in the island, had determined them to take such a step as could not but be very grating to the Lacedæmonians: however, that their affairs were far from being desperate; and therefore, that now was the time to establish, between the two republics, a firm and solid friendship, because the affairs of both were still fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared absolutely in favour of either: that the gods frequently abandoned those whom success makes proud, by shifting the scene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: that they ought to consider, that the fate of arms is very uncertain; and that the means to establish a lasting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppressing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on just and reasonable terms, for then, conquered by generosity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his duty to observe his engagements with inviolable fidelity.

The Athenians had now an happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great ascendant over the people, prevented its taking effect. They therefore answered, by his advice, that those who were in the island should first surrender at discretion, and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being sent back from it, as soon as the Lacedæmonians should have restored the cities, &c. which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the last treaty; and that these things being done, a firm and lasting peace should be concluded.

The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies should be appointed, and that the Athenians should engage to ratify what they should conclude. But Cleon exclaimed against this proposal, and said, it was plain they did not deal fairly, since they would not transact with the people, but with particular men, whom they might easily bribe; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they should do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no possibility for them to treat with the people without advising with their allies, and that if any thing had been granted by them to their prejudice, they must be responsible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully persuaded that they must not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the present state of their affairs and dispositions from prosperity.

As soon as they were returned to Pylus, the suspension ceased: but when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ships, the Athenians refused to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animosity than before. A haughty carriage in success, and want of faith in the observation of treaties, never fail, at last, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by what follows.

The Athenians continued to keep a strict guard round the island, to prevent any provisions from being brought into it, and hoped they should soon be able to starve out the inhabitants. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their interest by the views of gain, laying a heavy tax upon provisions, and giving such slaves their freedom as should bring any into it. Provisions were therefore now brought, at the hazard of men's lives, from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even divers who swam from the coast to the island, opposite to the harbour, and drew after them goats-skins filled with pounded linseed, and poppies mixed with honey.

Those who were besieged in Pylus were reduced to almost the like extremities, being in want both of water and provisions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, so far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themselves almost starved, it was feared, that as it would not be possible for the fleet to subsist during the winter, on a desert coast which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in so dangerous a road, the island must by that means be less securely guarded, which would give the prisoners an opportunity of escaping. But the circumstance they chiefly dread-

ed was, lest the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, should refuse to hearken to any conditions of peace; so that they now repented their having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would terminate in him. He therefore began by asserting, that it was all a false report concerning the extreme want of provisions, to which the Athenians, both within and without Pylus, were said to be reduced. He next exclaimed, in presence of the people, against the supineness and inactivity of the leaders who besieged the island, pretending that were they to exert the least bravery, they might soon take the island; and that had he commanded, he would soon have taken it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition; Nicias, who was before elected, resigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakness, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill success which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprise, might lose him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly surprised as well as embarrassed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than soldier, and much more able with his tongue than his sword. However, he desired leave to wave the honour they offered him, for which he alledged several excuses: but finding that the more he declined the command, the more they pressed him to accept it, he changed his note; and supplying his want of courage with rhodomontade, he declared before the whole assembly, with a firm and resolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, those of the island prisoners, or lose his life. The whole assembly, on hearing these words, set up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon, however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demosthenes (the other chief) landed in the island, attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island. The Lacedæmonians had stormed a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in battle-array, faced about to that side only where they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had held the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians, directing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they

charged their enemy's rear ; and promised, if they would give him but some troops armed with missive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a passage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the back of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance ; and being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and dejected through fatigue and despair, they began to give way : but the Athenians seized on all the passes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demosthenes, finding that should the battle continue, not a man of them would escape, and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their soldiers to desist ; and caused proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. At these words, the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon ; and their commander desired leave might be granted him to dispatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast ; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Upon this they held a conference ; after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the galleys.

In this battle an hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first ; so that there survived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island, to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce, had lasted threescore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus ; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally true. But the most surprising circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made ; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand.

Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain prisoners till a peace should be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death. They left a garrison in Pylus. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and as these Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no purpose; the Athenians being too much elated with their prosperity, and especially their late success, to listen to any terms.

^f In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent to the Lacedæmonians an ambassador, named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian language, in which he said, that he had received many embassies from them, but the purport of them all differed so widely, that he could not comprehend in any manner what it was they requested: that in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to send a Persian, to acquaint them, that if they had any proposal to make, they should send a person in whom they could confide, along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed of what they desired. This ambassador, arriving at Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner, about the close of this year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens. He was treated with the utmost civility and respect; the Athenians being extremely desirous of recovering the favour of the king his master.

The year following, as soon as the season would permit, the Athenians put to sea, and sent the ambassador back in one of their ships at the public expence; and appointed some of their citizens to wait on him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Upon landing at Ephesus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead; whereupon the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not adviseable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

^f Thucyd. l. iv. p. 285. 286.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

